

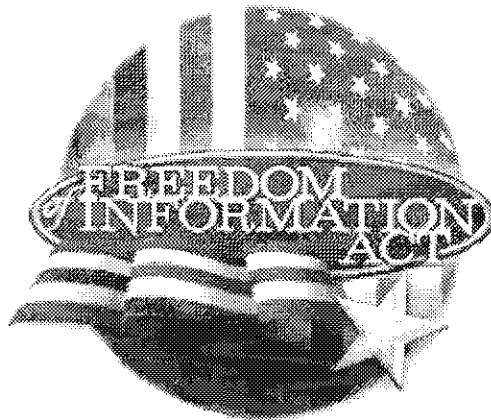
**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

**FILE NUMBER: 100-106670**

**SUB - A FILE**

**SECTION:13**



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Martin Luther King Jr.

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**VESDROPPING PROB**

# Did FBI try to smear Dr. King?

WASHINGTON — The Senate intelligence Committee is investigating allegations that the FBI tried to smear the late Dr. Martin Luther King by spreading stories about his sex life.

Some senators regard this as a classic abuse of police power. It will get special attention, therefore, from the committee.

Dr. King won the Nobel peace prize for his nonviolent crusade to gain equal rights for black Americans. He faced the police dogs and fire hoses of Southern sheriffs without flinching. His cry, "We shall overcome," stirred his people.

Dr. King's rhetoric, however, led him into a collision with the late, powerful FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. This became one of the famous feuds of the 1960s.

## Comment

SENATE investigators are now trying to determine whether Hoover used the FBI to carry on his vendetta against Dr. King. They want to know who ordered the snooping and who leaked the sex stories to the press. They are also searching for FBI agents who participated in the actual surveillance of the civil rights leader.

We were the first to reveal on May 24, 1968, that the FBI had tapped Dr. King's telephones. We reported that the wiretaps had divulged information about his alleged love affairs, a subject that was none of the FBI's business.

Now, more than seven years later, we have dug deeper into the story for the answers the senators are seeking.

There is bitter disagreement over who first suggested that the FBI eavesdrop on Dr. King. But in October 1963, Hoover obtained — some say wangled — a memorandum from then-Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy authorizing the controversial wiretaps.

## Jack Anderson with Les Whitten

The official justification was to determine whether Dr. King had any secret ties with the Communists. But the only secret dealings that the wiretaps revealed were with women. His dynamism and courage had made him attractive to many women.

Here are examples of the sort of smut that the FBI collected about the Nobel prize winner:

THE FBI bugged his suite in Washington's elegant, old Willard Hotel. He allegedly drank too many "Black Russian" concoctions, bragged of his sexual prowess to a woman visitor and then proceeded to prove his boast.

IN LAS VEGAS, Dr. King allegedly picked up an FBI informant who reported to the FBI next morning that he had paid her \$100 to spend the night with him.

ANOTHER TIME, he allegedly became intoxicated and made passes at a woman in a New York City hotel. The secret FBI summary of the incident reported that "King threatened to leap from the 13th floor window of the hotel if this woman would not say she loved him."

THE CIA forwarded a raw, unverified report to the FBI that Dr. King threatened to leap from the woman through an Oslo hotel during his Norway visit to receive the Nobel peace prize.

THE FBI also monitored Dr. King's relationship with the vivacious wife of a Los Angeles dentist. The FBI called it an "illicit affair." The woman insisted the

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

11 ST. PAUL DISPATCH  
St. Paul, Minn.



Date: September 3, 1968  
Edition: Evening  
Author: Jack Anderson  
Editor: William G. Sumner  
Title: Dr. King

Character:  
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Classification: 157-450  
Submitting Office: Minneapolis  
 Being Investigated

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# Dr. King's Illicit Sex Life Monitored By FBI

By JACK ANDERSON with LESS WHITTEN

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Jack Anderson

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— Another time, he allegedly became intoxicated and made passes at a woman in a New York City hotel. The secret FBI report says Dr. King threatened to jump from the 29th floor window of the hotel if this woman would not say she loved him."

— The CIA forwarded a raw, unverified report to the FBI that Dr. King, totally naked, chased a woman through an Oslo hotel during his Norway visit to receive the Nobel peace prize.

### DENTIST'S WIFE

— The FBI also monitored Dr. King's relationship with the vivacious wife of a Los Angeles dentist. The FBI called it an "illicit affair." The woman insisted the relationship was "merely a friendship."

As part of its continuing surveillance, the FBI bugged Dr. King's hotel suite in Atlantic City during the 1964 Democratic convention. But apparently nothing of significance was picked up.

The FBI continued its electronic surveillance of Dr. King, according to our sources, until his death in April 1968. The latest secret sex report we saw was dated Feb. 20, 1968.

In other words, the FBI continued listening to Dr. King's most private conversations for nearly five years. Yet during all this time, the FBI picked up no evidence that he had committed a crime or was likely to commit one.

J. Edgar Hoover's boys just kept filling up folders with titillating tidbits, idle gossip and vicious slander about Dr. King. His FBI dossier can only be described, therefore, as a blackmail file.

Indeed, we can prove that FBI officials tried to peddle embarrassing items about Dr. King to newsmen. Our FBI sources also say that Hoover's loyal sidekick, the late Clyde Tolson, sent the Willard Hotel tape anonymously to the civil rights leader's wife, Coretta King.

But the blackmail apparently didn't work. Dr. King's close friend and associate, Rep. Walter Fauntroy, told us the late leader was fully aware of the FBI's surveillance and wasn't the least deterred by it.

He didn't even mind if newspapers published the blackmail information because he felt it would hurt the FBI more than himself, said Fauntroy.

Footnote: After Dr. King's death, the FBI continued to monitor the activities of his successor, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy.

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# Senators Probe King Wiretapping

By Jack Anderson  
and Les Whitten

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Footnote: After King's death, the FBI continued to monitor the activities of his successor, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy. We showed him a secret FBI report, detailing a conversation he had held with his wife. He said it could only have come from a bug in his bedroom.

In fairness, it should be added that the present FBI director, Clarence M. Kelley, has taken the FBI out of the blackmail business completely. Under Kelley, the FBI is as honest and honorable a law enforcement agency as can be found anywhere in the world.

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# FBI 'Blackmail' On King Found

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COMMERCIAL APPEAL

MEMPHIS, TENN.

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 Author: FINAL  
 Editor: GORDON HANNA

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### Atlanta Seeking Data on King Slaying

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — The Atlanta Police Department has sent two intelligence officers here to check possible new information in the 1968 slaying of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said the officers will try to talk to Atty. Gen. Ray Ashley in Nashville today and later may try to meet with Houston attorney Percy Foreman, one of Ray's original lawyers. "This is not a routine investigation," the spokesman said. "Some of it (the information) checks out and some of it doesn't."

Another spokesman said the information, received last month by Atlanta Police Commissioner Reginald Eaves, is inconclusive as to a possible conspiracy in the slaying. He would not go into detail but said the information relates to smuggling and narcotics involving either confessed killer James Earl Ray or the slaying itself.

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# Possible Conspiracy in Dr. King Killing Investigated

By WAYNE KING

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, July 23—Atlanta Public Safety Commissioner, A. Reginald Eaves, said today that his city police detectives were continuing their investigation into allegations that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the victim of a conspiracy rather than of the lone assassin named Earl Ray. Mr. Eaves said he expected a full report by Friday or Monday. At that time, he said, a determination would be made as to whether information developed from a written statement by a convicted drug-seller was sufficient to warrant further inquiry or possible indictments. The commissioner said he was not sure at this time whether the Atlanta authorities would attempt to move on their own, if warranted, or if they would request federal action.

The four city detectives working on the case have conducted inquiries in Atlanta, in Memphis and Knoxville, Tenn., and in Kentucky, Mr. Eaves said.

The detectives are working on leads provided by Robert Byron Watson, 21 years old, now serving a five-year Federal sentence for conspiracy to distribute cocaine. A 42-page statement drawn up and sworn to by Mr. Watson was delivered to Mr. Eaves about a month ago. Mr. Eaves said today that at the time the statement was given to him via a third party, "a party whom I respect," he was not aware that the same information had been given to the Federal Bureau of Investigation on April 7, 1971. A spokesman for the F.B.I. in Washington said that interrogation of Mr. Watson at that time indicated that his account of the killing had been fabricated. Mr. Watson said that he had overheard two men in the Atlanta business where he worked discussing killing Dr. King a week before the civil rights leader was slain on April 4, 1968. The bureau nonetheless conducted an inquiry, the F.B.I. spokesman said, and deter-

mined that there was "no substance" to the allegations.

Mr. Watson, the informant, was convicted on drug charges in 1972 and spent two years in prison. His latest conviction came in May of this year.

Commissioner Eaves said today that the fact that the informant was a convicted felon should not, by itself, discredit his allegations.

The F.B.I., after preliminary checks of information provided by Mr. Watson through Mr. Eaves, has dropped its inquiry and considers the matter closed.

### Drug Traffic Emphasized

A few days ago, Mr. Eaves issued a statement indirectly critical of the F.B.I. "Our intelligence detectives, to date, have been denied access to the information the F.B.I. now has in their files," Mr. Eaves said.

He said that "local F.B.I. officials here in Atlanta who normally cooperate with us seemed unwilling to share information concerning the case."

"Without the cooperation of the F.B.I.," he said, "my investigators are presently interviewing persons who are supposed

to be knowledgeable concerning the alleged conspiracy."

In an interview today Mr. Eaves said that the information checked so far "proved to be about 95 per cent accurate."

However, he conceded that this information did not relate directly to the allegations concerning the King assassination. A source familiar with the contents of the Watson statement said that most of it dealt with drug traffic, and that the conspiracy allegations were brief, although at least two of the alleged conspirators were named.

Mr. Eaves said today that "I do not know of two, possibly three, persons" who were said to be connected with the alleged conspiracy.

According to Mr. Watson's statement, a source said, one of the men he says he overheard told another he was going to shoot Dr. King and frame someone for it. There are also suggestions in the statement that there was some connection with one of the Kennedy assassinations.

A Federal judge has ordered a psychiatric examination of Mr. Watson.

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# 'Sworn Statement' Alleging Plot In Dr. King's Death Is Reported

ATLANTA, June 20 (AP)—A statement contending that there was a conspiracy in the slaying of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader, has been given to Atlanta authorities, Police Commissioner Reginald Eaves said Friday.

Mr. Eaves said that the "sworn statement" that alleges that someone in addition to James Earl Ray participated in Dr. King's slaying "warrants our serious consideration."

The Commissioner said that he would not identify the person who provided the information but said it was delivered by a second party he described as "someone I respect a great deal."

Mr. Eaves said that if the material proved to have sufficient substance for a thorough investigation, he would turn it over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

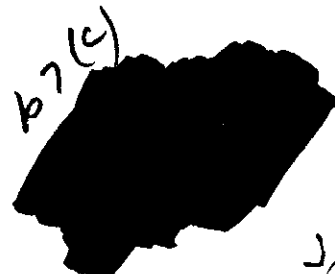
A spokesman for the F.B.I. in Atlanta said, "We don't know anything about it. We're conducting no investigation."

Mr. Ray, who admitted in

court in his original trial that he fired the rifle shot that killed Dr. King in Memphis, on April 4, 1968, is serving a 99-year prison sentence.

Mr. Ray later attempted to change his plea to innocent, and one of his attorneys said, "Our contention is that there was a definite conspiracy and that Mr. Ray was set up as a fall guy and was not a part of the conspiracy."

Commissioner Eaves said that the documents delivered to him were "well-written" and that they included many "facts, dates and events." He said that he should know within two weeks whether the charges made in the documents were sufficient to request an F.B.I. investigation.



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- Director Sec'y

CARL T. ROWAN

C-3

# New Doubt on King's Death

I have never been the sort of person who sees an evil conspiracy behind every death of every controversial person.

I have written nary a column supporting those who scream that Lee Harvey Oswald was not the sole killer of President Kennedy. I have not given speeches supporting James Earl Ray's claim that he is not responsible for Martin Luther King's murder and that he deserves a new trial.

As one who once sat on the Forty Committee, which approved delicate CIA operations, and who never heard a word about the CIA killing anybody, obviously I've never grabbed TV time with a claim that the United States was operating a sort of Murder Inc., in the Caribbean or anyplace else.

Yet, I confess that I'm shaken by the rash of recent stories alleging that the CIA handed out contracts to the Mafia for the murder of assorted people, presumably all foreigners. The Watergate revelations have thrown an aura of semi-believability around what used to seem to be ridiculous claims that G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt (two ex-CIA operatives) were in Dallas the day Kennedy was killed and were near the scene of the crime. I listen with an eerie tingle when someone reminds me that Alabama Gov. George Wallace has speculated that someone with money, who stood to benefit politically from ending his third-party campaign, had to be financing and directing Arthur Bremer, the man now imprisoned for almost killing Wallace.

The terrible truth is that, after Watergate, few people doubt any story of political madness, however implausible it may have seemed a year or two ago.

A top FBI official confided to me several years ago that the late J. Edgar Hoover was livid when Dr. King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Hoover talked with a few aides about the fact that King had tried, as a teen-ager, to commit suicide. Either Hoover, or one of his minions, decided that the "suicidal tendency" might be reactivated if the FBI sent to King's

*Dr. Martin Luther King*  
*NOTED*

wife a surreptitious recording made of a party in King's suite in a Washington hotel.

Mrs. Coretta King has now admitted that such a tape was received, but she is quoted as saying that neither she nor her late husband felt that it was damaging to them. So King did not commit suicide.

Meanwhile, in 1964, Hoover told President Lyndon B. Johnson (who then told civil rights leaders like Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the National Urban League) that one of King's most influential advisers was a secret Communist.

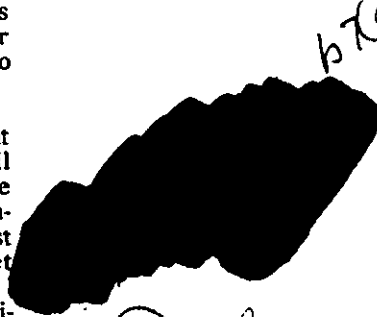
"We've followed him regularly to Mexico where he meets secretly with a top Soviet intelligence official, but we've never been able to get a photograph of King's friend with the Russian spy," I was informed by an FBI official.

Told of this, Johnson asked certain civil rights leaders to convince King that if he continued to be influenced by this so-called Soviet spy, he would wreck the civil rights movement. King agreed to ditch the alleged spy, but a few weeks later Johnson, I and other top government officials were treated to FBI stories (maybe valid, maybe not) that King was now seeing the alleged Communist secretly.

You sit remembering that many people detested King for what he was doing to break up the old Jim Crow order. After the FBI launched its whispering campaign, many Americans believed he was a "Commie" out to destroy this country. Other segments of this society despised him for the harsh things he was saying about U.S. military involvement in Indochina.

You remember those things and are forced to wonder if King's assassination was merely the deed of one man. The more one hears these stories of nefarious schemes and gross abuses by the dirty tricksters of the intelligence community, the easier it becomes to doubt.

How poisoned the atmosphere becomes.



*Robert*  
*Dick*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Washington Star-News C-3
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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# Ex-Officials Say F.B.I. Harassed

## Dr. King to Stop is Criticism

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation mailed what some agents considered an "unsavory" tape recording made from an electronic room bug to Coretta King to frighten her husband, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. into halting his criticism of the bureau, according to a former high official of the agency.

The mailing of the tape recording to Mrs. King was part of nearly a decade of "harassment" of the late civil rights leader by the bureau, several former agents and officials say. One retired agent, Arthur Murtagh, who was attached to the F.B.I.'s Atlanta field office, said the moves against Dr. King were second in size "only to the way they went after Jimmy Hoffa."

Yet there was never a criminal prosecution of Dr. King and, these former F.B.I. men say, there was a "dubious" national security rationale for what they said were thousands of hours of electronic and physical surveillance. These sources believe that the alleged harassment of Dr. King should be investigated by the Congressional committees on intelligence. Several have written to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The sending to a private citizen of a tape recording obtained by a national security electronic surveillance is a violation of F.B.I. regulations and was a potential violation of the Federal Communications Act and the Federal Criminal Code.

The surveillance of Dr. King was briefly noted last year in a report by William B. Saxbe, then the Attorney General and Clarence M. Kelley, director of the F.B.I. bureau's Counterintelligence Program, or Cointelpro. The report said that Cointelpro techniques included "investigating the love life of a group leader for dissemination to the press." Justice Department officials later identified the group leader as Dr. King.

### Arrangements Reported

A spokesman for the bureau said it had "no comment" on the alleged harassment of Dr. King.

The former high F.B.I. official who brought the matter to the attention of The New York Times asked to remain anonymous in the expectation that he might be called to testify in investigations of the bureau.

He said that in late 1964, after Dr. King criticized the F.B.I. for having assigned agents with Southern backgrounds to handle civil rights cases, the late director, J. Edgar Hoover, ordered William C. Sullivan, then in charge of the bureau's counterintelligence operations, to arrange to send a copy of a tape recording secretly to Mrs. King in such a manner that it could not be traced to the F.B.I.

The source said that a copy of a tape recording was made by the bureau's laboratory. It was wrapped in a small plain, unmarked package with no return address, and delivered to Mr. Sullivan's office, the source said, and it had been addressed to Mrs. Coretta King, Atlanta, Ga.

Another source, attached to the bureau at the time, said that he believed the recording was of a party held by Dr. King and officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Dr. King headed, in the Willard Hotel in Washington in the fall of 1963. The source said the party had been picked up by an F.B.I. electronic bug in the room and put on tape.

Bureau officials, according to sources at the time, felt that the content of the tape was detrimental to Dr. King and some of his associates because it recouped activities at the party they thought did not conform with the rights leader's position as a religious leader.

### Tracing of Tape

The tape and the package had been prepared so they could not be traced, one source said. He said Mr. Hoover wanted the tape mailed from somewhere in Florida and that Mr. Sullivan had ordered a special agent to fly to Tampa and mail the tape to Mrs. King. The source stressed that the agent had no idea of the contents.

The source said that Mr. Hoover believed the sending of the tape to Mrs. King would stop Dr. King's criticism of the bureau and break up his marriage as well.

Mrs. King said in a telephone interview that she recalled receiving a tape recording in January, 1965.

"I received a tape that was rather curious, unlabeled," she said. "As a matter of fact, Martin and I listened to the tape and we found much of it unintelligible. We concluded there was nothing in the tape to discredit him."

Mrs. King said that she and her husband immediately realized that the tape had been made covertly and "presumed" it had been made by the F.B.I. Mr. Murtagh, 53 years old, who now lives in Constable, N.Y., said the "trick" of sending the tape to Mrs. King to discredit her husband was well known "among senior agents in the Atlanta bureau and some of them bragged about it as a smart stunt."

According to two former senior F.B.I. officials, a wiretap on Dr. King later picked up a conversation in which Dr. King told a friend that he was deeply concerned about the pressure being placed upon him.

S.C.L.C. sources from that era say that Dr. King never wavered in his leadership of the movement and that the harassment failed.

The following incidents of harassment were either confirmed in earlier press accounts or uncovered in interviews with high bureau officials:

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Mr. Murtagh and a former senior bureau official confirmed the bureau tried to disrupt plans for a banquet in Atlanta in 1964 by business leaders to laud Dr. King's winning of the Nobel Prize. It included covert contacts with community leaders with charges about Dr. King's personal life.

Two former bureau officials said that a "monograph" on Dr. King's personal life was circulated among Government officials by the bureau during the Kennedy Administration. President Kennedy became aware of what was going on and ordered Mr. Hoover to retrieve every copy of the monograph.

Mr. Murtagh said that efforts at harassment of S.C.L.C. leaders continued after Dr. King's assassination in 1968. He said he was ordered by bureau officials to obtain handwriting samples of Andrew Young, now a Democratic Representative from Georgia, and Hosea Williams to permit bureau experts to forge letters over the Young and Williams signatures that would harm their careers. Mr. Murtagh said he refused the assignment.

Two former senior F.B.I. officials said the bureau "routinely" sought to prevent Dr. King from receiving honorary degrees from colleges and universities by planting stories

about his personal life, including charges that he directed S.C.L.C. funds to his own use and to Swiss bank accounts.

Mr. Murtagh and other sources said there was a consistent practice of anonymous telephone calls, sometimes to make false fire alarm reports at locations where Dr. King was to speak and in other instances to friends and associates of Dr. King trying to sow distrust among them.

#### Infiltration Believed

In 1961 and 1962, bureau intelligence experts reportedly became convinced that two members of the Communist party had infiltrated the S.C.L.C. The intelligence men urged then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to open a national security investigation of Dr. King, and he complied.

Reliable sources said that Dr. King was under electronic surveillance well before Mr. Kennedy had made his decision. On two occasions, members of the Kennedy Administration warned the S.C.L.C. leaders to disassociate themselves from the alleged Communists because they were leaving Dr. King open to attacks by Southern conservatives in the Senate, but Dr. King refused to do so unless the Government produced evidence of Communist affiliation.

In 1963, Mr. Kennedy authorized a national security wiretap on Dr. King, then legal under federal law. Court testimony and interviews with F.B.I. and Justice Department officials indicate that the electronic surveillance continued for at least two years, from 1963 to 1965, and produced a massive amount of recordings. One estimate held that 5,000 separate conversations went on tape.

Former agents said the room

bugs were planted in hotels from coast to coast as Dr. King moved about the country.

Despite this massive surveillance, veteran agents said, there was never a recommendation for prosecution for violation of any Federal or State law. Nor, several sources said, were grounds for any national security concern ever established.

#### Testimony in Case

In a 1969 Federal court case involving the boxer Muhammad Ali, a Federal agent testified that he believed the tapes from the King investigation had been destroyed. But other sources among former Bureau officials maintain that the tapes or transcripts of the tapes are still in the bureau and may be part of the material disclosed 10 days ago by Attorney General Edward H. Levi.

Mr. Murtagh said the bureau surveillance of the S.C.L.C. failed because it concentrated on gathering information about the mores and personal lives of the rights group's officials.

"This was a little naive because S.C.L.C. officials told me they couldn't care less," Mr. Murtagh said.

Under laws in force when the tape was reportedly mailed, it was both a potential crime and a violation of bureau regulations to use the tape in this manner.

The Federal Communications Act in force in 1964-1965 prohibited a police or Government agency from disclosing the contents of a taped or bugged conversation to a third party. Another section of the Federal criminal statutes makes it a crime for Federal employes to convert Government property and records to other than official use.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# FBI 'sex snoopers gave files to LBJ'

NEW YORK, Monday. THE FBI regularly supplied President Lyndon Johnson with details of the sexual escapades of prominent people, including Martin Luther King Jr and a Republican Senator, according to Time magazine.

Time said yesterday the information was given to the president by then FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who knew Johnson "had a voracious appetite for gossip."

One report covered the sexual activities of a prominent Republican Senator who frequented a brothel in Chicago "and had some kinky sexual preferences," Time said.

The magazine said the information came from the owner of a brothel who was really an FBI informer.

After the President read the material he was reported to have slapped his thigh with delight.

## Erotic

Johnson also received the transcript and tapes of Martin Luther King Jr's bedroom activities Time claimed.

"He read the accounts, which an aide described as being like an erotic book," it added.

Time said Johnson listened to tapes about the civil rights leader, who was later assassinated, "that even had the noises of the bedsprings."

The magazine said Hoover's deputy, Cartha DeLoach, "became a courier to the White House of juicy gleanings from the FBI."

But DeLoach said at his Connecticut home: "I wouldn't make any comment. I left the FBI five years ago and haven't even seen a file since then. You'd have to ask the FBI about all this."

The magazine, without giving any source, said Johnson always believed President John Kennedy was assassinated as the result of a Communist conspiracy; that the Chinese Communists paid for anti-Vietnam war demonstrations, and that the CIA killed South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem against Kennedy's wishes.

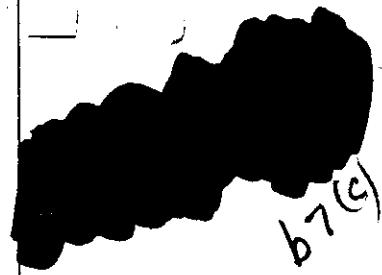
(UPI, Reuter.)

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"Evening Standard  
London, England

Page 4



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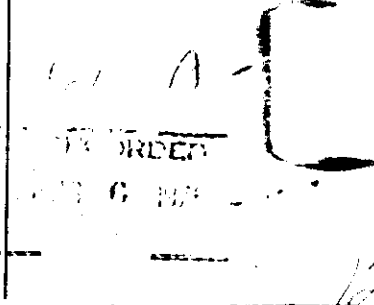
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# Of Kennedys and King

By William Safire

WASHINGTON—The diehard loyalty of the old Kennedy mythmakers is obvious to behold.

Those who have been assuring us for years that the Kennedys secretly attled J. Edgar Hoover gulped silently when Ben Bradlee recently broke ranks to reveal how President Kennedy invited the F.B.I. director to the White House to pore over dossiers and chortle over the peccadilloes of public men.

Those same Kennedy mythmakers helped fashion an article of impeachment when it was revealed that President Nixon ordered the F.B.I. wiretapping of newsmen. They now stand mute as the Rockefeller Commission report states that a newsman had been wiretapped by the C.I.A. in 1962—with no authority in law—"apparently with the knowledge and consent of Attorney General Kennedy." (We'll soon see if Franch Church follows that up.)

However, several old Kennedy hands have taken vociferous umbrage, in public and private, to a point made in this space about the double standard used in judging past Presidents: "Nixon never ordered the extended wiretapping of a civil rights leader for the purpose of leaking derogatory information about him to the press."

This referred to the wiretap that Attorney General Kennedy directed the F.B.I. to place on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on Oct. 10, 1963, and which remained in place for more than eighteen months until removed on April 30, 1965, by Robert Kennedy's successor, Nicholas Katzenbach.

During this time, in an attempt to besmear and discredit Dr. King, F.B.I. agents—in violation of the law—played recordings of bugged conversations and sounds from Dr. King's hotel rooms to newsmen, and even mailed one such salacious recording to Dr. King's wife. The Department of Justice has never sunk lower, before or since.

Nobody disputes those facts. The question is: Did the Kennedys have good reason to suspect that the purpose of the tap was not national security, and that the F.B.I. would leak whatever it found to smear its most outspoken critic?

Mr. Katzenbach tells me no. He writes: "A telephone tap on a phone used by Dr. King was authorized by Attorney General Kennedy in 1961 or 1962 [sic]. That tap was requested by Mr. Hoover on national security grounds by a written memorandum, which stated in the strongest terms that Dr. King was closely associated

with a person known by the Bureau to be a high official of the Communist party in close contact with the U.S.S.R. The purpose of the tap was stated

to be to assist the F.B.I. in determining whether Dr. King and his movement were being manipulated by this person in the interests of the Soviet Union."

I am informed by Mr. Katzenbach that in December 1964, (while the F.B.I. wiretap on Dr. King was still in operation) he was told by reporters that the F.B.I. possessed recordings of "buggings" of Dr. King which they were playing to newsmen. "I immediately inquired of the Bureau if this improper activity was in fact taking place and it was flatly denied. . . . I believe the activity did, however, cease immediately."

Mr. Katzenbach carefully differentiates between the warrantless wiretap approved by Mr. Kennedy and the "buggings" that he then thought were made by state law-enforcement officials. He believes there is a difference; I believe one reinforced the other.

He is correct, however, in denouncing as "utterly false" my assertion that the Justice Department had recently admitted that the purpose of the King wiretap was "investigating the love life of a group leader for disseminating to the press." The department did use those words to describe the F.B.I.'s counterintelligence program and the leader referred to was Dr. King, but Mr. Katzenbach had left the Justice Department by that time and I regret the error.

I cannot accept, however, the mythmakers' line that Robert Kennedy was the innocent dupe of J. Edgar Hoover in this tawdry episode. He knew Mr. Hoover was out to "get" Dr. King's reputation; he knew how the director used raw material gathered in dossiers to titillate confidants, even Presidents. I believe Mr. Kennedy's purpose in authorizing the wiretaps was primarily to appease the powerful F.B.I. director, even if it meant letting him destroy the reputation of Martin Luther King.

Mr. Katzenbach insists that his own motive was purely national security, and I am satisfied that he believes that this is true. Yet, as he points out, he learned of the F.B.I.'s smear campaign in December 1964; with very good reason to know the real purpose of the F.B.I. tap, and with the power to terminate it with a single command, Mr. Katzenbach permitted the King wiretaps to continue for an additional five months. He had reason to suspect the commission of crimes by lawmen and—aside from asking the newsmen who alerted him to reveal their sources—the nation's chief law officer did nothing.

Privately, Kennedy mythmakers have been saying that the approval of Hoover on the King wiretap

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possible to pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act. How's that for irony? Shades of Daniel Ellsberg and Gordon Liddy, men who thought it was right to break a few rules because they saw a higher cause. The Kennedys were willing to subvert the personal civil rights of the nation's leading fighter for civil rights—and do it in the name of civil rights.

- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- The Los Angeles Times \_\_\_\_\_

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CARL T. ROWAN

# New Doubt on King's Death

I have never been the sort of person who sees an evil conspiracy behind every death of every controversial person.

I have written nary a column supporting anyone who screams that Lee Harvey Oswald was not the sole killer of President Kennedy. I have not given speeches supporting James Earl Ray's claim that he is not responsible for Martin Luther King's murder and that he deserves a new trial.

As one who once sat on the Forty Committee, which approved delicate CIA operations, and who never heard a word about the CIA killing anybody, obviously I've never grabbed TV time with a claim that the United States was operating a sort of Murder Inc., in the Caribbean or anyplace else.

Yet, I confess that I'm shaken by the rash of recent stories alleging that the CIA handed out contracts to the Mafia for the murder of assorted people, presumably all foreigners. The Watergate revelations have thrown an aura of semi-believability around what used to seem to be ridiculous claims that G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt (two ex-CIA operatives) were in Dallas the day Kennedy was killed and were near the scene of the crime. I listen with an eerie tingle when someone reminds me that Alabama Gov. George Wallace has speculated that someone with money, who stood to benefit politically from ending his third-party campaign, had to be financing and directing Arthur Bremer, the man now imprisoned for almost killing Wallace.

The terrible truth is that, after Watergate, few people doubt any story of political madness, however implausible it may have seemed a year or two ago.

A top FBI official confided to me several years ago that the late J. Edgar Hoover was livid when Dr. King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Hoover talked with a few aides about the fact that King had tried, as a teen-ager, to commit suicide. Either Hoover, or one of his minions, decided that the "suicidal tendency" might be reactivated if the FBI sent to King's

wife a surreptitious recording made of a party in King's suite in a Washington hotel.

Mrs. Coretta King has now admitted that such a tape was received, but she is quoted as saying that neither she nor her late husband felt that it was damaging to them. So King did not commit suicide.

Meanwhile, in 1964, Hoover told President Lyndon B. Johnson (who then told civil rights leaders like Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the National Urban League) that one of King's most influential advisers was a secret Communist.

"We've followed him regularly to Mexico where he meets secretly with a top Soviet intelligence official, but we've never been able to get a photograph of King's friend with the Russian spy." I was informed by an FBI official.

Told of this, Johnson asked certain civil rights leaders to convince King that if he continued to be influenced by this so-called Soviet spy, he would wreck the civil rights movement. King agreed to ditch the alleged spy, but a few weeks later Johnson, I and other top government officials were treated to FBI stories (maybe valid, maybe not) that King was now seeing the alleged Communist secretly.

You sit remembering that many people detested King for what he was doing to break up the old Jim Crow order. After the FBI launched its whispering campaign, many Americans believed he was a "Commie" out to destroy this country. Other segments of this society despised him for the harsh things he was saying about U.S. military involvement in Indochina.

You remember those things and are forced to wonder if King's assassination was merely the deed of one man. The more one hears these stories of nefarious schemes and gross abuses by the dirty tricksters of the intelligence community, the easier it becomes to doubt.

How poisoned the atmosphere becomes.

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# FBI Harassment of King Disclosed by Ex-Agents

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The source said that a copy of a tape recording was made by the bureau's laboratory.

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Bureau officials, according to sources, felt that the content of the tape was detrimental to King because it recounted activities they thought did not conform with King's position as a religious leader.

The source said that Hoover believed the sending of the tape to Mrs. King would stop King's criticism of the bureau and break up his marriage as well.

Mrs. King said in a telephone interview that she recalled receiving a tape recording in January 1965.

"I received a tape that was rather curious, unlabeled," she said. "As a matter of fact, Martin and I listened to the tape and we found much of it unintelligible. We concluded there was nothing in the tape to discredit him."

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The following incidents of harassment were either confirmed in earlier press accounts or uncovered in interviews with high bureau officials:

— Murtagh and a former senior bureau official confirmed the bureau tried to disrupt plans for a banquet in Atlanta in 1964 by business leaders to note King's winning of the Nobel Prize.

— Two former bureau officials said that a "monograph" on King's personal life was circulated among government officials during the Kennedy administration. President John F. Kennedy became aware of what was going on and ordered Hoover to retrieve every copy of the monograph.

— Murtagh said efforts at harassment of SCLC leaders continued after King's assassination in 1968. He said he was ordered by bureau officials to obtain handwriting samples of Andrew Young, now a Democratic representative from Georgia, and Hosea Williams to permit bureau experts to forge letters that

would harm their careers. Murtagh said he refused the assignment.

— Two former senior FBI officials said the bureau "routinely" sought to prevent King from receiving honorary degrees by planting stories about his personal life.

— Murtagh and other sources said there was a consistent practice of anonymous telephone calls, sometimes to make false fire alarm reports at locations where King was to speak and in other instances to friends and associates trying to sow distrust among them.

In 1961 and 1962, bureau intelligence experts reportedly became convinced that SCLC had become infiltrated by two members of the Communist party. The experts urged then Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy to open a national security investigation of King, and he complied.

### Before Decision

Sources said that King was under electronic surveillance well before Atty. Gen. Kennedy had made his decision. On two occasions, members of the Kennedy administration warned the SCLC leaders to disassociate themselves from the alleged Communists because they were leaving King open to attacks by Southern conservatives in the Senate, but King refused to do so unless the government produced evidence of Communist affiliation.

In 1963, Atty. Gen. Kennedy authorized a national security wiretap on King, then legal under federal law. Court testimony and interviews with FBI and Justice Department officials indicate that the surveillance continued for at least two years.

Despite this massive surveillance, veteran agents said, there was never a recommendation for prosecution for violation of any federal or state law. Nor, several sources said, were grounds for any true national concern ever established.

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FRONT PAGE - RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

# FBI Harassment of King Disclosed by Ex-Agents <sup>7/9/75</sup>

(C) New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Federal Bureau of Investigation mailed what some agents considered an "unsavory" tape recording made from an electronic room bugging device to Coretta King to "frighten" her husband, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., into halting his criticism of the bureau, according to a former high official of the agency.

The mailing of the recording to Mrs. King was part of nearly

a decade of "harassment" of the late civil rights leader by the bureau, several former agents and officials say. One retired agent, Arthur Murtagh, 53, who was attached to the FBI's Atlanta field office, said the moves against King were second in size "only to the way they went after Jimmy Hoffa."

Yet, there was never a criminal prosecution of King and the former FBI men say that there was a "dubious" national security rationale for

what they said were thousands of hours of electronic and physical surveillance. The sources believe that the alleged harassment of King should be investigated by the congressional committees on intelligence.

The sending to a private citizen of a tape recording obtained by a national security electronic surveillance is a violation of FBI regulations

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# Misuse of King Tape Alleged

New York Times News Service

The FBI mailed what some agents considered an "unsavory" tape recording made from an electronic room bug to Coretta King to "frighten" her husband, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., into halting his criticism of the bureau, according to a former high official of the agency.

The mailing of the tape to Mrs. King was part of nearly a decade of "harassment" of the late civil rights leader by the bureau, several former agents and officials say. One retired

agent, Arthur Murtagh, who was attached to the FBI's Atlanta Field Office, said the moves against King were second in size "only to the way they went after Jimmy Hoffa."

**YET THERE** was never a criminal prosecution of King and, these former FBI men say, there was a "dubious" national security rationale for what they said were thousands of hours of electronic and physical surveillance. These sources believe that the alleged harassment of King should be

investigated by the congressional committees on intelligence. Several have written to the Senate select committee on intelligence.

The sending to a private citizen of a tape recording obtained by a national security electronic surveillance is a violation of FBI regulations and was a potential violation of the Federal Communications Act and the federal criminal code.


**A SPOKESMAN** for the bureau said it has "no comment" on the alleged harassment of King.

Sources said the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover believed the sending of the tape to Mrs. King would stop King's criticism of the bureau and break up his marriage as well.

Mrs. King said in a telephone interview that she recalled receiving a tape recording in January 1965.

"I received a tape that was rather curious, unlabeled," she said. "As a matter of fact, Martin and I listened to the tape and we found much of it unintelligible. We concluded there was nothing in the tape to discredit him."

Mrs. King said that she and her husband immediately realized that the tape had been made covertly and "presumed" it had been made by the FBI.

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# Katzenbach Tells of Tape

By Orr Kelly  
Star-News Staff Writer

Former Atty. Gen. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach says he once ordered the FBI to stop playing a tape recording involving the personal life of the Rev. Martin Luther King for newsmen, even though the bureau denied the activity at the time.

Katzenbach said in a telephone interview yesterday that the incident occurred in about December 1964.

He said he heard that a tape derogatory to King had been played for several newsmen and asked FBI officials about it.

"THEY DENIED IT," he said.

But two newsmen later assured him, he said, that they had been invited to listen to the tape and had done so.

"But when I said, 'Okay, let's go confront them,' they refused to let me use their names. That left me in the lurch," Katzenbach said.

While he was thus barred from acting against FBI officials, he said, he ordered them to stop doing what

they denied doing. And, he said, he believes the practice was stopped.

"They were doing it in that press office — although they didn't call it that — across from the director's office. I said it was outrageous and I wanted it stopped," he said.

KATZENBACH SAID he believed Hoover had a "vendetta" against King and that playing the recording for newsmen was part of an effort to discredit the civil rights leader.

The former attorney general said he also had heard that a memo concerning King had been circulated but that he had never seen it. He said a great volume of information sent to his office each day by the FBI was screened by his staff and that they knew he did not want any "lurid reading."

But Harold Reis, now a Washington attorney who was then executive assistant to the attorney general, said he could recall no information from the FBI of a "curious nature that

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was not part of a particular investigation.

"I never did see any stuff sent along just for purposes of voyeurism," he said.

Katzenbach said he recalled only one such report.

"This memo said a congressman — I forget his name — had been seen leaving a motel with a good looking girl. I was later told it was his daughter," he said.

Katzenbach is now an executive at IBM in Riverdale, N.Y.

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- The Washington Post
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# DR. KING BUGGING BY F.B.I. VERIFIED

## Ex-Agent Told Watergate Panel That Check in '64 Was Done for Johnson

Special to The New York Times  
WASHINGTON, Jan. 26 — Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. said today that the Senate Watergate committee had obtained evidence that the Fed- used electronic listening devices against the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during the 1964 Democratic National Convention.

Appearing on the ABC television program "Issues and Answers," the Tennessee Republican said he had "sat in" on an interview between Watergate Committee investigators and Leo T. Clark, former agent in charge of the Atlantic City F.B.I. field office, in which Mr. Clark said the electronic surveillance of Dr. King had been conducted for President Johnson.

Sources on the now defunct Watergate committee said that Mr. Clark disclosed that the electronic surveillance of Dr. King had picked up Representatives, Senators and Robert F. Kennedy, then Attorney General, in their private conversations with the civil rights leader.

### Not in 1972 Campaign

Mr. Baker said the content of the interview with Mr. Clark had not been made a part of the final Watergate report because "it was not involved in the '72 Presidential campaign."

Two former counsels on the Watergate committee said a memorandum on the Clark interview had been turned over to a Congressional committee. A spokesman for the F.B.I. said the bureau's current director, Clarence M. Kelley, expected to be questioned on the incident during Congressional hearings this week.

The Washington Post reported the Clark interview today. According to its account, Cartha D. DeLoach, then assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I., set up a special team of agents to conduct "technical surveillance" (F.B.I. jargon for wiretapping and bugging) and physical surveillance at the convention. The order was ordered

by the Johnson White House, according to the article, and its stated purpose was to gather intelligence on potential violence or disruptions, Mr. Clark told the Senate investigators.

### Arranged for Rooms

The Post gave these additional details:

Mr. Clark said he had arranged with the management of Atlantic City's Claridge Hotel to have Dr. King and his party stay in rooms 1901, 1902 and 1923.

He said he stayed in a room a floor below those held by Dr. King. He said the room was used to monitor transmissions of wiretaps and bugs from Dr. King's quarters and from 2414 Atlantic Avenue, a storefront used by the Congress of Racial Equality and other civil rights groups.

The conversations were monitored by F.B.I. agents and also tape recorded. The tape recordings were telephoned to Mr. DeLoach and other agents at a special control center. Mr. Clark said information pertinent to the security responsibilities of the Secret Service and the local police were passed onto those agencies.

"Clark recalls overhearing DeLoach speaking on the telephone to President Johnson and to Director Hoover, giving them summary information from the technical surveillance," the Watergate committee memorandum said.

### Denied Talking to Johnson


Mr. DeLoach denied under oath in a 1973 Watergate committee interview that he had a direct line to President Johnson or spoke to him during the convention. Mr. DeLoach was not available for comment today.

In a DeLoach conversation with the President," the Watergate committee memorandum continued, according to the list, "Clark heard mention of discussions concerning the seating of delegates or delegations," of Vice-Presidential candidate possibilities, and the identities of Congressmen and Senators going in and out of King's quarters."

Mr. Clark, who retired from the F.B.I. in 1965 after 22 years of service had left his New Jersey yhome for a Florida vacation and was not available for comment.

Senator Baker suggested that the newly-created Senate Select Committee on the Intelligence Community might subpoena documents from President Johnson's memorial library in an effort to set the record straight. He also did not rule out the issuing of a subpoena to former President Richard M. Nixon for other testimony.

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To Mrs. Coretta King

# Ex-FBI Man Bares Illegal Tape Case

(C) 1975, N.Y. Times News Service

WASHINGTON — The FBI mailed what some agents considered an "unsavory" tape recording made from an electronic room bug to Coretta King to "frighten" her husband, Martin Luther King Jr., into halting his criticism of the bureau, according to a former high official of the agency.

The sending to a private citizen of a tape recording obtained by National Security electronic surveillance is a violation of the FBI regulations and was a potential violation of the Federal Communications Act and the Federal Criminal Code.

The former FBI official who brought the matter to the attention of The New York Times asked to remain anonymous in the expectation that he might be called to testify in investigations of the bureau.

### Sent Secretly

He said that in late 1964, after King had criticized the FBI for having assigned agents with Southern backgrounds to handle Civil Rights cases, the late director, J. Edgar Hoover, ordered William Sullivan, then in charge of the bureau's counterintelligence operations, to arrange to send a copy of a tape recording secretly to Mrs. King in such a manner that it could not be traced to the FBI.

Another source, attached to the bureau at that time, said that he believed the recording was of a party held by King and officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Dr. King headed, in the Willard Hotel in Washington in the fall of 1963. The source said the party had been picked up by an FBI bug in the room and put on tape.

### King, Wife Listened

Bureau officials, according to the sources, felt at the time that the content of the tape was detrimental to King and some of his associates because it recounted activities at the party they thought did not conform with the Rights leader's position as a religious leader.

The source said that Hoover believed the sending of the

tape to Mrs. King would stop King's criticism of the bureau and break up his marriage as well.

Mrs. King said in a telephone interview that she recalled receiving a tape in January, 1965.

"I received a tape that was rather curious, unlabeled," she said. "As a matter of fact, Martin and I listened to the tape and we found much of it unintelligible. We concluded there was nothing in the tape to discredit him."

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BY SYLVIA MORENO  
 AUSTIN, TEX. (UPI) -- FORMER PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON JUSTIFIED  
 AN FBI INVESTIGATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. BECAUSE HE FEARED THE  
 CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER HAD BEEN DUPED BY COMMUNIST GROUPS, EX-WHITE  
 HOUSE AIDE BILL MOYERS SAID SATURDAY.

"THE INVESTIGATION OF KING WAS A LEGITIMATE CONCERN, PERHAPS  
 CARRIED TOO FAR, BUT NONETHELESS, LEGITIMATE," MOYERS SAID. AN FBI  
 INVESTIGATION PROVED THE ALLEGATION OF COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT FALSE,  
 THE FORMER JOHNSON AIDE SAID.

CONCERN WITH FBI AND CIA DOMESTIC INVESTIGATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS,  
 MOYERS SAID, WAS "THE RESULT OF A GOOD INTENTION CARRIED TOO FAR, IN  
 THE RESULT OF A CAMPAIGN BY THE WHITE HOUSE TO INTIMIDATE ANYONE."  
 "IT IS NOT POWER THAT CORRUPTS, BUT SECRECY THAT CORRUPTS," MOYER

SAID.  
 MOYERS, WHO HOSTS THE THREE-TIME EMMY AWARD WINNING PROGRAM, "LI  
 MOYERS JOURNAL: INTERNATIONAL REPORT," WAS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEX  
 TO RECEIVE THE SECOND ANNUAL DEWITT C. REDDICK AWARD FOR OUTSTANDIN  
 ACHIEVEMENT IN COMMUNICATION.

HE SAID HIS RECENT INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY  
 KISSINGER WAS CRITICIZED BY FELLOW JOURNALISTS FOR ITS LACK OF TOU  
 QUESTIONING.

"I WASN'T ADVERSARY ENOUGH. I DIDN'T AIM FOR THE JUGULAR. I WAS  
 EAD THAT DAY," MOYERS SAID.  
 SPEAKING OF THE FLOW OF INFORMATION DURING JOHNSON'S PRESIDENCY,  
 MOYERS SAID, "WE ERRED TOO MUCH IN THE DIRECTION OF OPENNESS. THE  
 TRUTH IS LYNDON JOHNSON COULDN'T KEEP A SECRET -- HE COULDN'T EVEN  
 KEEP HIS SEAR A SECRET."

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# FBI Tapped King at 1964 Convention

PART I -

By Ronald Kessler  
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Johnson during the 1964 Democratic National Convention received reports on the conversations or activities of senators and congressmen, on then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and on key convention delegates from wiretaps and bugs installed by the FBI on civil rights leaders, a Senate Watergate committee memo says.

The memo, summarizing a 1973 interview with Leo T. Clark, then in charge of the FBI's Atlantic City, N.J., office, quotes Clark as saying the information was reported to Johnson from bugs and wiretaps installed in the hotel suite of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and in a storefront used by civil rights groups.

Civil rights was a key political issue during the Atlantic City convention.

In the Watergate committee interview, Clark, a 22-year veteran of the FBI, said electronic and physical surveillances were carried out by a special FBI team ordered by the Johnson White House.

The team, he said, was under the personal direction of Cartha D. DeLoach, assistant to then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

The stated purpose of the operation, Clark said, was to gather intelligence on potential violence or disruptions.

But Clark, who acknowledged playing a key role in the surveillance activities, said DeLoach told him to avoid discussing the operation with the Secret Service, which has responsibility for protecting the President, or with the FBI's Newark office, which would normally coordinate security at the convention.

Instead, he said, most of the information obtained was transmitted to President John-

son over a telephone line specially installed to bypass the White House switchboard.

Clark said the information included Kennedy's activities, identities of senators and congressmen visiting King's hotel suite, identities of persons seeking support of civil rights leaders, plans of delegates or delegations, and speculation on vice presidential nominees.

At one point, Clark said, he asked DeLoach if the Attorney General had authorized the taps and bugs. He said DeLoach replied that Kennedy had not been informed of them. But he said DeLoach indicated Johnson was aware of them.

At the time, bugging by the FBI was illegal, and interception and divulgence of telephone communications by the FBI was a criminal offense.

The authenticity of the Clark memo, which cites room numbers of suites bugged and the source of funds for part of the operation, was verified by a number of persons who either received it or were present when Clark was interviewed.

The memo indicates Clark appeared in response to a subpoena but did not testify an-

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der oath. It indicates that he reviewed the summary of his interview before it was typed in memo form.

Clark, who retired from the FBI in 1965 and later headed his own private investigation firm, was traveling by car on a vacation and could not be reached for comment.

Asked why the memo had not come out in Senate Watergate committee hearings, a committee source said previous presidential campaigns were not considered to come within the committee's legislative mandate of campaign activities in 1972.

DeLoach, informed through a secretary of the natural of a reporter's inquiry, did not return telephone calls.

DeLoach denied under oath in a 1973 Senate Watergate committee interview that he had a direct line to Johnson or spoke with him during the convention.

A summary of his interview shows DeLoach said one surveillance was conducted as part of a continuing installation on a person believed to be under the influence of the Communist Party.

The continuing surveillance had been approved by Kennedy, although DeLoach did not remember seeing any written authorization, he said. Johnson was not aware of this surveillance, he added.

The FBI's activity at the convention was for the purpose of keeping abreast of "any political violence," DeLoach said. If any political intelligence was reported to the White House, he added, it was only incidental to reports on possible violence.

DeLoach said he might have instructed agents to work undercover in Democratic factions. But he denied telling agents the operation was secret.

Another participant in the operation said he could not deny that the purpose of the operation was political. He said each agent might have a different view of how much of the intelligence gathered was political and how much related to security.

"It's probably a matter of proportions, and different people would come out with different percentages," he said.

The participant said he did not want to discuss details of the operation because of the

~~concern~~ that he would be required to testify during investigations that would ensue once the operation was publicly disclosed.

Although not a participant, another FBI source said he was told by an agent who participated that prevention of violence was the operation's cover.

"The purpose was to serve President Johnson's political interests," he said. "They picked up any information that concerned Kennedy, and what he was up to and whom he was trying to line up support for," the source said.

Asked for comment, FBI spokesman James Murphy did not address himself to the question of whether the purpose of the operation was political or whether it included installation of wiretaps and bugs.

Instead, he said: "As a result of a request from the White House, the FBI did coordinate the development of intelligence information concerning the plans of subversive, criminal, and hoodlum groups attempting to disrupt the Democratic National Convention at Atlantic City, N.J., in 1964."

The information was gathered by FBI informants and sources and was subsequently furnished to the White House and its representatives in Atlantic City on a continuing basis, he said. Pertinent data were also given to the Secret Service and police authorities, he said.

"In addition to the coverage afforded the 1964 Democratic convention, the FBI afforded similar coverage to both the Democratic and Republican conventions in subsequent Presidential election years 1968 and 1972," Murphy said.

Although President Johnson in 1964 was assured of nomination for his first full term as President he was worried about a possible movement to draft Robert Kennedy to be his running-mate and about a challenge by a primarily black delegation to the white, Mississippi delegation.

A conflict could have marred Democratic unity or provoked picketing by civil rights activists. Although the civil unrest at the time red to King's non-violence, such

demonstrations could have been politically embarrassing.

As it turned out, the conflicts were resolved quietly and commentators at the time remarked on the perfect control Johnson appeared to have on convention activities from the White House.

"The interesting question is why he had such complete control," columnist Walter Lippman wrote at the conclusion of the convention in late August.

"Quite evidently," Lippman wrote of Johnson, "he is a great politician, but what is the secret of his greatness as a politician?"

In early August, Clark said, he began to work with the Secret Service and local police to insure that the convention later that month would be peaceful.

Three days before the convention opened on Aug. 24, he was told by DeLoach in a telephone call that the White House wanted special assistance, Clark said.

This assistance would be independent of the Secret Service and should not be discussed with it or otherwise publicized, Clark quoted DeLoach as saying.

"Trouble was expected from the Mississippi and Alabama delegations," he said.

"One of the objectives of the FBI would be to infiltrate dissident factions and keep Walter Jenkins advised at Atlantic City, the interest being to preclude disorders," Clark said.

An FBI agent was later assigned to accompany Jenkins, a White House aide, with a walkie-talkie, Clark added.

In a recent telephone interview, Jenkins, who was executive assistant to Johnson, said he had no knowledge of any FBI surveillance activities at the convention and could not recall having any contact with the FBI.

Another key Johnson aide at the convention, W. Marvin Watson, did not return telephone calls last week after one of his assistants was informed of the nature of the inquiry.

Clark said he was told by DeLoach to set up a control center where informants could report. Individuals of particular interest included civil rights activists such as Fannie Lou Hamer, Clark said he was

told from Washington.

Mrs. Hamer said recently from Ruleville, Miss., that she was not aware she was being watched during the convention.

But she said she and other Freedom Democratic Party members of the Mississippi that was challenging the white delegation felt pressure from many sides to back down on their demands.

"People were saying things, and then chickening out, and we didn't know why," she said.

Clark said he established a control center on the second floor of the old Post Office building. The first floor was occupied by the FBI resident agent for Atlantic City, he said.

He established a special telephone number in DeLoach's control center office to take calls from informants, he said.

On instructions from DeLoach, Clark said, he determined where King and James L. Farmer, then national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) would be staying.

Clark said he was also told to check the whereabouts of other civil rights leaders with surveillances in mind.

He said he determined that King would stay at the Cambridge Hotel. DeLoach instructed him to survey the building to determine the feasibility of installing a wiretap and microphone (bug) surveillance, he said.

Clark arranged with the hotel management to have King stay in Rooms 1901, 1902, and 1923, he said. The hotel management gave keys to the rooms to two FBI technical men from Newark, and they surveyed the rooms, he said.

Clark said he reserved Room 1821, a floor below King's suite, for himself. After DeLoach and other FBI officials arrived from Washington on Aug. 23, Clark said, the room was used to monitor conversations in King's rooms as well as those beamed from a tap and bug installed at 2414 Atlantic Ave., a storefront used by CORE and other groups.

Clark did not say whether a break-in was necessary to install the microphone surveillance at the Atlantic Avenue address.

Surveillances from the storefront were monitored by agents John J. Cramer and Billy D. Williams, he said. Those from King's rooms were listened to by agents John P. Devlin and John J. Connolly, he added.

The FBI declined to allow a reporter to talk with these or other agents named by Clark.

Conversations were tape recorded and telephoned to DeLoach and agents Harold P. (Bud) Leinbaugh, and Donald G. Hanning in the control center, Clark said.

They in turn, dictated memos based on the information to stenographers, he said.

Leinbaugh and Hanning both retired, declined to comment.

Information that related to Secret Service or police responsibilities were relayed to the appropriate agency by Clark, he said.

Clark recalls overhearing DeLoach speaking on the telephone to President Johnson and to Director Hoover, giving them summary information from the technical surveillance, the Watergate committee memo says.

"In a DeLoach conversation with the President, Clark heard mention of discussions concerning the seating of delegates or delegations, of vice presidential candidate possibilities, and the identities of congressmen and senators going in and out of King's quarters," the memo says.

"Robert Kennedy's activities were of special interest, including his contacts with King. There was particular interest in learning who was seeking the support of the black leaders and the maneuvering of the black factions with regard to the seating of the Mississippi delegations," the memo says.

In addition to bugs, wiretaps, and undercover informants, the FBI monitored the two-way radio communications of groups using the Atlantic Avenue storefront and solic-

ited intelligence through agents posing as reporters, Clark said.



J. EDGAR HOOVER  
and FBI director



CARTHA D. DeLOACH  
head of '64 special

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhard \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Miller, E.S.
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Conmy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Eardley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Hogan \_\_\_\_\_

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# WALTER SCOTT'S Personality Parade

**Q.** Can you find out why the late J. Edgar Hoover hated the late Martin Luther King so much? Was it because King enjoyed a free-wheeling sex life, and Hoover had none? Was it because Hoover was white, and King was black? Why did Hoover wiretap King so consistently and leak evidence of King's sex life to the press?—N. L., Macon, Ga.

**A.** In 1962 and 1963 Dr. King criticized the FBI for dragging its feet in civil rights cases. Enraged by the criticism of his bureaucratic child, the FBI, and suspicious of King's associates, Hoover had the civil rights leader tailed and wiretapped throughout the country. A man of strong sexual appetites, King was an easy mark for electronic surveillance. When Dr. King won the Nobel Peace Prize, Hoover was further enraged, sought to undermine the achievement by highlighting King's marital infidelity. Arthur Murtagh, 51, of Constable, N.Y., a lawyer who retired from the FBI after 21 years of service, 11 of which he spent in Atlanta, King's hometown, is writing a book which deals in part with the battle of Hoover versus King.

**Q.** Would you buy a used car from Attorney General Elliot Richardson?—D. Evans, Cambridge, Mass.

**A.** Yes, anytime—especially if his wife, one of the loveliest women in the nation, held joint title to it.



ELLIOT RICHARDSON AND WIFE ANNE

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- The Evening Star (Washington)
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- The New York Times
- The Daily World
- The New Leader
- The Wall Street Journal
- The National Observer
- People's World

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- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

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# FBI Vendetta

# Against Dr. King

*Pg 2*

# Exposed

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

**WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN**

Date **5/29/73**

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# Retired agent bes effort hurt King

CONSTABLE, N.Y. —  
trodging white support for  
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.  
as the FBI's main objective,  
says the former agent  
whose group bugged him.

In the 1960s, Arthur Murtagh  
belonged to the Atlanta  
FBI unit which tapped  
Dr. King's phones.  
The kind of thinking at the  
bureau gives me a pit in  
the bottom of my stomach,"  
he said.

"A public servant should  
be governed by the same  
concepts of democracy and  
due process you find in the  
courts," declared Murtagh,  
now retired and practicing  
law here.

In an interview with  
Wallace Turner of the New  
York Times, Murtagh said  
FBI officials tried to dis-  
suade Atlanta community  
leaders from attending a  
banquet honoring Dr. King  
after he won the 1964 Nobel  
peace prize.

Dr. King headed the  
Southern Christian Lead-  
ership Conference.

Murtagh said his security  
squad tapped King's SCLC  
office and home phones for  
at least three years, and  
that more than 5,000 calls  
were recorded. That was  
from 1963 to 1965 and there  
were indications it continued  
until the 1968 assassina-  
tion.

After the 1968 assassina-  
tion of Sen. Robert F. Ken-  
nedy, it was revealed that  
he had authorized the sur-  
veillance in 1963 on the  
reading of FBI Director J.  
Edgar Hoover that subver-  
sives might try to use the  
civil rights movement.

Reference was also made  
to the tap at the 1969 trial  
of Muhammad Ali on draft  
evasion charges. The bu-  
reau has yet to divulge any  
of the information gathered.

Dixie officials appar-  
ently had access to some of

There was a veritable  
spiderweb of eavesdrop-  
pers, the former agent said.  
It was not unusual for At-  
lanta to monitor a call then  
learn another post had  
heard the other end of the  
talk.

The Albany Movement  
was the beginning of the  
problem, the retired agent  
believed.

While he could not sub-  
stantiate this, he said he  
was convinced Hoover de-  
termined to silence King  
after he criticized FBI failure  
to probe complaints  
against law officers in the  
Georgia town between 1961  
and 1963.

Civil rights leaders made  
these charges when the bug  
was revealed.

"The surveillance was  
massive and complete,"  
Murtagh said. "He couldn't  
wiggle. They had him."

He said he once chal-  
lenged the agent conducting  
the surveillance to say  
whether it was showing  
King's involvement with  
subversives, the justifica-  
tion for the tap.

He quoted the agent as

replying, "I would try to  
tell others that there was,  
but I wouldn't try to tell it  
to you."

Previous accounts of the  
tap indicated that only Dr.  
King's phones and that in  
the office of the suspect  
subversive in New York  
were wired. Hoover's argu-  
ment that this man was  
trying to misuse Dr. King  
caused Robert Kennedy to  
approve the tap.

Telephones all over the  
United States were tapped,  
Murtagh said. Washington  
sources confirmed that FBI  
surveillance followed King  
when he left Atlanta and  
that his hotel phones were  
tapped.

After Dr. King won the  
Nobel Prize, Murtagh  
claimed, the FBI made a  
well-orchestrated attempt  
to undermine the sub-  
sequent banquet.

An agent and Washington  
official visited two church-  
men and the late Ralph  
McGill, editor of the At-  
lanta Constitution, trying to  
persuade them not to at-  
tend.

The next day another  
agent told Murtagh, "I  
guess McGill will be taking  
care of King," but the edi-  
tor made no attack.

Circumstances made it  
impossible to corroborate  
the story, but Eugene Pat-  
terson, a former Con-  
stitution editor, recalled a  
parallel.

He said agents once  
asked him whether, in view  
of the paper's support for  
Dr. King, he should report  
"the kind of man" he was.

They claimed King was  
holding secret rendezvous  
with women.

Patterson said he told the  
agents he didn't run "a  
key hole-pecking news-  
paper."

Murtagh did not partici-  
pate in the King surveil-  
lance except on one occa-  
sion, when he manned the  
listening post in an emer-  
gency.

"I don't really know  
why," he said. "I guess it's  
because you watch it run  
and you get to believe it's  
too mammoth and there's  
nothing you can do."

The agent said the bu-  
reau atmosphere helped  
produce the climate that  
made Watergate possible,  
but the air conditioner must  
have been set a long time  
ago.

In 1949 FBI agents told  
Alger Hiss's attorney they  
had three file drawers  
filled with his taped conver-  
sations.

They told him that quite

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
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 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
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**WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN**  
 Date 5/29/73



# Editorials

## Why they spied on Dr. King

**THE SURFACING OF ALL MANNER** of decay as a result of Watergate has brought up new facts about the espionage of which the late Dr. Martin Luther King was a victim.

Federal Bureau of Investigation surveillance of Dr. King was initiated by the late, unspeakable J. Edgar Hoover. The FBI sought to gag Dr. King's denunciation of the FBI's affinity with the Albany, Georgia, policemen who had violated the civil rights of Blacks in 1961-1963.

The espionage against Dr. King was part of the offensive against the Black liberation, peace, and labor movements.

Incitement of murder has been part of it, as witness the current disclosures of the role played by an FBI provocateur in the dynamiting attributed to the Weathermen organization in 1969-1970.

The federal institutions that persecuted Dr. King are the ones which, as Watergate is revealing, made the Vietnam Veterans Against the War one of its targets.

Copperating in these filthy operations have been the undercover agencies of city governments. Thus, John Caulfield, who allegedly passed the offer of Presidential clemency for James McCord, Watergate operative, was trained for a decade as a member of the New York City Police Department's Bureau of Special Services.

The FBI operation against Dr. King was directed by J. Edgar Hoover. More important for assessing its significance is that it was approved by the late Robert Kennedy, as Attorney General of the United States. The surveillance continued from October 1963 to at least until 1965 and, according to some accounts, until the time of King's assassination.

Dr. King was the victim not only of surveillance but of a high-powered rifle. He was not only spied on but murdered. Is there anyone who can assure the people that the spying did not set him up for assassination?

Watergate has confirmed that the Federal government has created, as an adjunct of our two-party system, a vast web of espionage against the democratic people's forces.

The "intelligence" operations directed against the American people as uncovered by the Ervin Committee and elsewhere, should be destroyed by Congress.

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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# FBI bid to hurt Dr. King told

By WALLACE TURNER  
New York Times Service

A former FBI agent says that in the 1960s the bureau used material gained in an electronic surveillance of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in an apparent effort to undermine the late civil rights leader's support among his white backers.

The former agent also said that many newsmen were urged to write articles disclosing intimate details of Dr. King's personal life — details to be supplied by the bureau after they were picked up in telephone taps. These taps on Dr. King were said to have been much more widespread than had previously been reported.

THE former agent, Arthur Murtagh, a 51-year-old lawyer now practicing in Constable, N.Y., told the New York Times in an interview that important figures in the FBI even tried to persuade community leaders in Atlanta that they should not attend a banquet that was held to honor Dr. King after he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

The persuasion was said to have included a warning that the bureau had derogatory information about Dr. King that might eventually embarrass those who attend the banquet.

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- Mr. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

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A-4 Independent  
Long Beach, Calif.

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Date: 5/21/73  
Edition: Monday Morning  
Author: Wallace Turner  
Editor: Daniel H. Ridd  
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Submitting Office Los Angeles

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The fact that Dr. King's telephone was tapped has been well-established. It was disclosed in 1968 while Sen. Robert F. Kennedy campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination.

After Kennedy's murder in June 1968 his former associates said that the tap was installed when Kennedy, as attorney general, acquiesced in 1963 to J. Edgar Hoover's repeated demands for authority to tap. Hoover had argued that Dr. King had associations with subversive groups who sought to use the civil rights movement against the best interests of the United States.

IN 1969, the tap on Dr. King was further described briefly in court hearings involving the draft violation conviction of Muhammad Ali, then the world heavyweight boxing champion.

These brief glimpses made it clear that the tap was instituted in October 1963, and was continued at least into 1965. There were suggestions that it lasted until 1968, when Dr. King was assassinated. The bureau has never given any information about the tap.

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- Ms. Herwig
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- Mrs. Neenan

# F.B.I. Taps Called Plan to Discredit Dr. King

## WALLACE TURNER

A former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation says that in the nineteen-sixties the bureau used material gained in an electronic surveillance of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in an apparent effort to undermine the late civil rights leader's support among his white backers.

The former agent also said that many newspapermen were urged to write articles disclosing intimate details of Dr. King's personal life—details to be supplied by the bureau after they were picked up in the telephone taps. Three taps on Dr. King were said to have been much more widespread than had previously been reported.

The former agent, Arthur Murtagh, a 51-year-old lawyer now practicing in Constable, N.Y., told The New York Times in an interview that important figures in the F.B.I. even tried to persuade community leaders in Atlanta that they should not attend a banquet that was held to honor Dr. King after he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. The persuasion was said to have included a warning that the bureau had derogatory information about Dr. King that might eventually embarrass those who attended the banquet.

### Tap Disclosed in 1968

Mr. Murtagh retired from the bureau in September, 1971, after 21 years of service, including 11 years in the Atlanta office. His account to The Times has been confirmed in interviews with various independent sources.

The fact that Dr. King's telephone was tapped has been well-established. It was disclosed in 1968 while Senator Robert F. Kennedy campaigned for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

After Mr. Kennedy was murdered in early June, 1968, his former associates said that the tap was installed when Mr. Kennedy, as Attorney General, acquiesced in 1963 to J. Edgar Hoover's repeated demands for authority to tap. Mr. Hoover argued that Dr. King had associations with subversive groups who sought to use the civil rights movement against the best interests of the United States.

In 1969, the tap on Dr. King was further described briefly in court hearings involving the draft violation conviction of Muhammad Ali, then the world heavyweight boxing champion.

These brief glimpses made it clear that the tap was instituted in October, 1963, and was continued at least into 1965. There were suggestions that it lasted until 1968, when Dr. King was assassinated, and the bureau has never given any information about the tap.

"Martin Luther King became the No. 1 bureau interest as far as the Atlanta office was concerned," Mr. Murtagh said. The former agent was a member of the 15-man group assigned to the security squad and it was this group that conducted the electronic surveillance of Dr. King, Mr. Murtagh said.

The former agent, who describes himself as one of a half-dozen liberals who survived in the bureau to reach retirement age, said he is now preparing his notes to write a book on his experiences.

Mr. Murtagh said he retired from the bureau on the first day he was eligible. He was very critical of the bureau in the interviews, which were held at his home.

He said that he could not offer proof, but that he believed completely that Mr. Hoover, as bureau director,

sought the authority to tap Dr. King's phones in order to get information to destroy the civil rights leader and silence his criticism of the bureau's alleged failures to investigate the complaints of Negroes against white law enforcement

officers in Albany, Ga., from 1961 to 1963.

Mr. Murtagh would not name agents who took part in the surveillance. He said that he believed they had been taking orders, and that to name them now would cause them undeserved embarrassment. He said he had not taken part in the surveillance because he had told the supervisor in charge that he believed the tap was illegal.

When asked to explain how he could enforce such a refusal in a highly disciplined organization such as the F.B.I., Mr. Murtagh said that he had become known as a critic of some activities, and that his work in the Atlanta office was valuable to the agents assigned to direct the office.

He was paymaster, and "control" for a network of undercover informers who were "in place" in black organizations that were growing in importance at that time. He said, for example, that he was able to learn almost anything he wanted to know about the operation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Dr. King headed.

Mr. Murtagh said he once challenged the agent who ran the surveillance to say whether there was justification for the contention that Dr. King was involved with subversives—the justification for the telephone tap. He quoted the agent as replying, "I would try to tell

- The Washington Post
- Times Herald
- The Evening Star (Washington)
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- New York Post
- The New York Times *25*
- The Daily World
- The New Leader
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- The National Observer
- People's World

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others that there was, but I wouldn't try to tell it to you."

Mr. Murtagh also said that the extent of the electronic surveillance was never well understood outside limited circles within the bureau. He said that it went on for at least three years, and that more than 1,000 telephone conversations were monitored.

Previously published accounts of the telephone tap have indicated that only three telephones were involved—those in Dr. King's home, at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference offices in Atlanta, and at an office in New York that was used by the person that Mr. Hoover had argued was a subversive attempting to misuse Dr. King. It was this contention that caused Robert Kennedy to approve the telephone tap.

Mr. Murtagh said that telephones all over the United States were tapped, and that it was not uncommon for the Atlanta bureau to discover that it had monitored a call, and that the other end of the call had been monitored by a different listening post.

"The surveillance was massive and complete," Mr. Murtagh said. "He couldn't wiggle. They had him."

#### Fed Into Washington

Sources in Washington confirmed the broad outlines of Mr. Murtagh's description. These sources confirmed that when Dr. King left Atlanta, the F.B.I. electronic surveillance went with him, and that his telephones in hotels in other cities were tapped, with reports of information derived from these taps fed into Washington as was the Atlanta data.

In another part of his interview, and again in a way that avoided the use of names, Mr. Murtagh said that after Dr. King won the Nobel Peace Prize, the bureau made a well-orchestrated attempt to undermine the success of the banquet that was held in Dr. King's honor in Atlanta.

The former agent said that persons who understood his critical attitude toward the bureau's activities in the civil rights field told him that an agent from the Atlanta office and one of the top officials from Washington headquarters had called on two religious leaders and on the late Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, to attempt to persuade them not to attend the

Mr. Murtagh again would not name the agent or the headquarters official. But he said that, the morning after the Washington man arrived at the Atlanta office, the agent said to Mr. Murtagh, "We're going to get him today. Hoover is going to take care of King today."

#### No Attack by Editor

Mr. Murtagh said that the bureau had agents assigned to be the contact men for persons such as newspaper editors, and that the man he quoted had been the contact for Mr. McGill. This agent took the Washington man to see Mr. McGill and the next day told Mr. Murtagh, "I guess McGill will be taking care of King." But the editor made no attack on the civil rights leader.

While the death of Mr. McGill and the refusal of Mr. Murtagh to name the agents made it impossible to corroborate his story, an interview with Eugene Patterson, former editor of The Constitution, produced a recollection that parallels the story told by Mr. Murtagh.

Mr. Patterson, now president and publisher of The St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, said that in the spring of 1964, he was called on by an F.B.I. agent, whom he would not name.

"You people have been giving support to Martin Luther King," Mr. Patterson quoted the agent as saying. "Don't you owe it to your readers to tell them what kind of man he is? Our information is that while he postures as a great moral leader, he is running around with women. Don't you think your readers ought to know this?"

"I told him we didn't run a keyhole-pecking newspaper," Mr. Patterson remembered saying. "I told him that kind of thing had nothing to do with the civil rights movement."

#### Urged Coverage

Mr. Patterson said the agent told him that Dr. King would meet a woman at an airport in Florida that weekend, and insisted that the Constitution send a reporter and photographer to record the meeting.

Mr. Patterson refused. Some days later, the agent returned and again insisted that "the newspaper would not print the news if we give it to you," Mr. Patterson said.

A day or so later, according to Mr. Patterson, the agent called and said, "our information is that the meeting is off so it's a good thing you didn't send anybody down t here."

In reflecting on the electronic surveillance of Dr. King, Mr. Murtagh said, "from all the things I saw. It appeared to me to be a 'get King' movement in the bureau. It was triggered by Hoover's hatred of King as a result of King's criticism of the bureau back in '62 and '63."

He also said that he was somewhat ashamed as he remembered that one Saturday night, when the King telephone tap had been in existence for years, he agreed to spend four or five hours manning the listening post when another agent had an emergency that took him off duty.

"I don't really know why I agreed to do it," he said. "I guess it is that you go along and watch it run and it gets so you really believe this is too mammoth and there is nothing I could do."



United Press International

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. leaving J. Edgar Hoover's office after conferring with the F.B.I. director on Dec. 1, 1964. Dr. King had requested the meeting during a bitter controversy between the

# J. Taps Called

## to Discredit Dr. King

By WALLACE TURNER

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The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. leaving J. Edgar Hoover's office after conferring with the F.B.I. director on Dec. 1, 1964. Dr. King had requested the meeting during a bitter controversy between the two men.

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The former agent, who describes himself as one of a half-dozen liberals who survived in the bureau to reach retirement age, said he is now preparing his notes to write a book on his experience

Mr. Murtagh said he retired from the bureau on the first day he was eligible. He was very critical of the bureau in the interviews, which were held at his home.

He said that he could not offer proof, but that he believed completely that Mr. Hoover, as bureau director, sought the authority to tap Dr. King's phones in order to get information to destroy the civil rights leader and silence his criticism of the bureau's alleged failures to investigate the complaints of Negroes against white law enforcement

officers in Albany, Ga., from 1961 to 1963.

Mr. Murtagh would not name agents who took part in the surveillance. He said that he believed they had been taking orders, and that to name them now would cause them undeserved embarrassment. He said he had not taken part in the surveillance because he had told the supervisor in charge that he believed the tap was illegal.

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baise \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Barnes \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conny \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Eardley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Hogan \_\_\_\_\_

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times 25 \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date 5/21/73  
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 FBI  
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When asked to explain how he could enforce such a refusal in a highly disciplined organization such as the F.B.I., Mr. Murtagh said that he had become known as a critic of some activities, and that his work in the Atlanta office was valuable to the agents assigned to direct the office.

He was paymaster, and "control," for a network of undercover informers who were "in place" in black organizations that were growing in importance at that time. He said, for example, that he was able to learn almost anything he wanted to know about the operation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Dr. King headed.

Mr. Murtagh said he once challenged the agent who ran the surveillance to say whether there was justification for the contention that Dr. King was involved with subversives—the justification for the telephone tap. He quoted the agent as replying, "I would try to tell

others that there was, but I wouldn't try to tell it to you."

Mr. Murtagh also said that the extent of the electronic surveillance was never well understood outside limited circles within the bureau. He said that it went on for at least three years, and that more than 5,000 telephone conversations were monitored.

Previously published accounts of the telephone tap have indicated that only three telephones were involved—those in Dr. King's home, at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference offices in Atlanta, and at an office in New York that was used by the person that Mr. Hoover had argued was a subversive attempting to misuse Dr. King. It was this contention that caused Robert Kennedy to approve the telephone tap.

Mr. Murtagh said that telephones all over the United States were tapped, and that it was not uncommon for the Atlanta bureau to discover that it had monitored a call, and that the other end of the call had been monitored by a different listening post.

"The surveillance was massive and complete," Mr. Murtagh said. "He couldn't wiggle. They had him."

#### Fed Into Washington

Sources in Washington confirmed the broad outlines of Mr. Murtagh's description. These sources confirmed that when Dr. King left Atlanta, the F.B.I. electronic surveillance went with him, and that his telephones in hotels in other cities were tapped, with reports of information derived from these taps fed into Washington as was the Atlanta data.

In another part of his interview, and again in a way that avoided the use of names, Mr. Murtagh said that after Dr. King won the Nobel Peace Prize, the bureau made a well-orchestrated attempt to undermine the success of the banquet that was held in Dr. King's honor in Atlanta.

The former agent said that persons who understood his critical attitude toward the bureau's activities in the civil rights field told him that an agent from the Atlanta office and one of the top officials from Washington headquarters had called on two religious leaders and on the late Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, to attempt to persuade them not to attend the banquet.

Mr. Murtagh again would not name the agent or the headquarters official. But he said that, the morning after the Washington man arrived at the Atlanta office, the agent said to Mr. Murtagh, "We're going to get him today. Hoover is going to take care of King today."

#### No Attack by Editor

Mr. Murtagh said that the bureau had agents assigned to be the contact men for persons such as newspaper editors, and that the man he quoted had been the contact for Mr. McGill. This agent took the Washington man to see Mr. McGill and the next day told Mr. Murtagh, "I guess McGill will be taking care of King." But the editor made no attack on the civil rights leader.

While the death of Mr. McGill and the refusal of Mr. Murtagh to name the agents made it impossible to corroborate his story, an interview with Eugene Patterson, former editor of The Constitution, produced a recollection that parallels the story told by Mr. Murtagh.

Mr. Patterson, now president and publisher of The St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, said that in the spring of 1964, he was called on by an F.B.I. agent, whom he would not name.

"You people have been giving support to Martin Luther King," Mr. Patterson quoted the agent as saying. "Don't you owe it to your readers to tell them what kind of man he is? Our information is that while he postures as a great moral leader, he is running around with women. Don't you think your readers ought to know this?"

"I told him we didn't run a keyhole-peeking newspaper," Mr. Patterson remembered saying. "I told him that kind of thing had nothing to do with the civil rights movement."

#### Urged Coverage

Mr. Patterson said the agent told him that Dr. King would meet a woman at an airport in Florida that weekend, and insisted that the Constitution send a reporter and photographer to record the meeting.

Mr. Patterson refused. Some days later, the agent returned and again insisted that "he newspaper would not print the news if we give it to you," Mr. Patterson said.

A day or so later, according to Mr. Patterson, the agent called and said, "our information is that the meeting is off so it's a good thing you didn't send anybody down t here."

In reflecting on the electronic surveillance of Dr. King, Mr. Murtagh said, "from all the things I saw. It appeared to me to be a 'get King' movement in the bureau. It was triggered by Hoover's hatred of King as a result of King's criticism of the bureau back in '62 and '63."

He also said that he was somewhat ashamed as he remembered that one Saturday night, when the King telephone tap had been in existence for years, he agreed to spend four or five hours manning the listening post when another agent had an emergency that took him off duty.

"I don't really know why I agreed to do it," he said. "I guess it is that you go along and watch it run and it gets so you really believe this is too mammoth and there is nothing I could do."

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Brennan	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. Swans	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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PAGE 20

THE CLARION LEDGER

JACKSON, MISS.

Date: FEB. 25, 1971

Edition: HOME

Author: LEO F. KAHLER

Editor: T.M. HEDERMAN

Title: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character:

or

Classification: 100-161

Submitting Office: JACKSON

Being Investigated

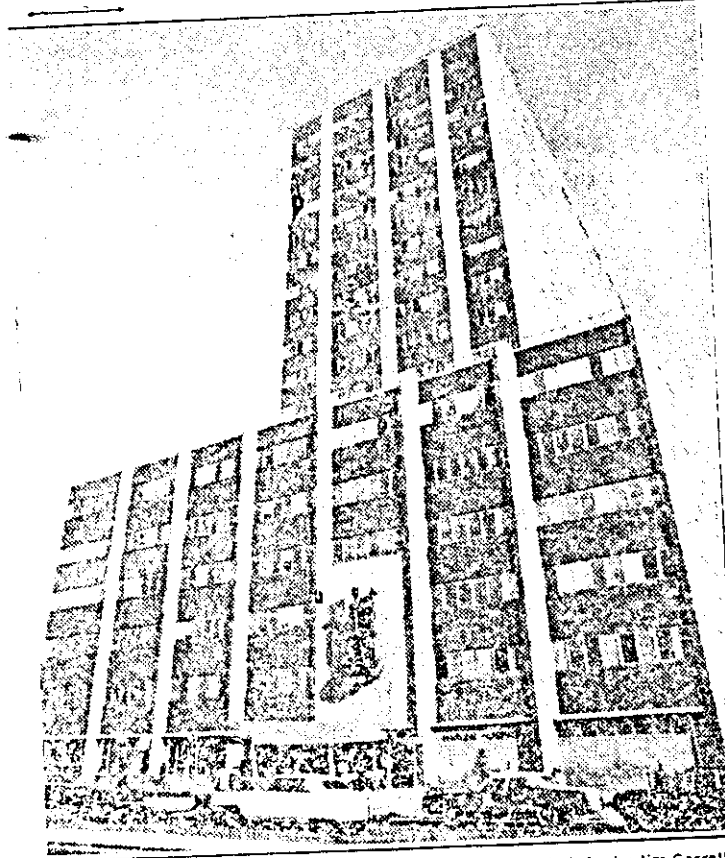
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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mohr
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REC-33

# Dedicate King Pavilion



NEWS photos by Jim Garrett



Mr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr. ← enter auditorium at Harlem Hospital's Martin Luther King Pavilion before dedication. The new 18-story building was dedicated yesterday in ceremony briefly disrupted by six demonstrators. Five of the protesters were led from auditorium by police, but the sixth, black militant Charles Kenyatta, was carried out. Demonstrators want hospital wing dedicated to pioneer black surgeon, Dr. Louis T. Wright.

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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) 5
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 1 1971

Date

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**OBSERVING KING BIRTHDAY**

**JSC Students Hear High SCLC Official**

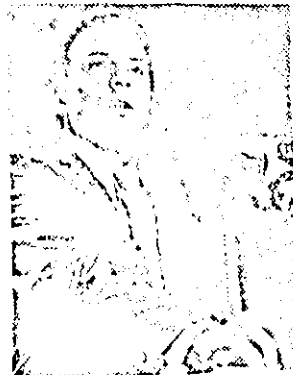
In celebration of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Institute for the Study of History, Life, and Culture of Black People at Jackson State College will present its annual Winter Convocation on Friday, Jan. 15, 1971 at 10 a. m. in Dansby Hall Auditorium.

The speaker for this event is the Rev. Andrew J. Young, vice president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta. His subject is "Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Black Revolution."

The public is invited to the program. No admission will be charged.

The Rev. Young was born in New Orleans, La. He attendedillard University there in 1947-48 and graduated from Howard University in Washington, D. C. with a Bachelor of Science Degree in 1951. In 1955 he obtained a Bachelor of Divinity Degree at Hartford Theological Seminary in Connecticut.

He is a prominent civil rights leader who has served as executive assistant and close adviser to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Dr. Ralph Abernathy in the Southern Christian programs, including voter registration and political education. Leadership Conference Since 1961 when he joined SCLC, the Rev. Young has participated in the highest planning and strategy councils for every major American movement for human



THE REV. MR. YOUNG

rights and peace. In 1964, Dr. King appointed Young Executive Director of SCLC, and since then he has functioned as a top aide to the SCLC President and as director of all staff and a supervisor of all programs.

He has also been instrumental in developing other SCLC "Operation Breadbasket," the Ministers Leadership Training Program, housing for the poor.

youth activities, and organizing the working poor.

In February, 1968, Young was elected Executive Vice President by the SCLC Board of Directors.

The speaker is widely recognized as an articulate advocate of non-violent social change and a creator of ideas and programs for achieving that change. He has written and spoken extensively on national and international affairs and he is currently involved in an analysis of both the history of the civil rights movement and the related problems of racism, economic exploitation, war, and colonialism.

He is Chairman of the Board of the Delta Ministry of Mississippi, and a board member of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center, the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation, the Urban Training Center, the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, the National Social Welfare Assembly, and a number of other religious and human rights groups.

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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PAGE 2

THE CLARION LEDGER

JACKSON, MISS.

Date: JAN. 13, 1971  
Edition: HOME  
Author:  
Editor: T.M. HEDERMAN, J  
Title: SCLC

Character:  
or  
Classification: 157-481  
Submitting Office: Jackson  
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REC 16

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UPI-160

(MARTIN LUTHER KING)

WASHINGTON--A HUGE COMMITTEE OF LEADERS IN CONGRESS AND THE NATION TODAY RENEWED A DRIVE TO HAVE THE JAN. 15 BIRTHDAY OF THE LATE MARTIN LUTHER KING DECLARED A NATIONAL HOLIDAY.

SEN. JACOB JAVITS, R-N.Y., TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE CALLED FOR THE OCCASION THAT KING'S LEADERSHIP IN CIVIL RIGHTS SHOWED "AN EXULTATION AND SKILL" COMPARABLE TO THAT OF GREAT MEN ALREADY HONORED.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON AND ABE LINCOLN MAY WELL BE JOINED BY MARTIN LUTHER KING," JAVITS SAID.

KING, SLAIN BY AN ASSASSIN IN 1968, NOT ONLY DEVOTED HIS LIFE TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS BUT "WAS WILLING TO GIVE HIS LIFE FOR THIS CAUSE," HIS WIDOW, MRS. CORETTA SCOTT KING, SAID.

THE REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY, WHO SUCCEEDED KING AS HEAD OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, SAID HE WILL BRING PETITIONS TO CONGRESS BEARING MORE THAN 1 MILLION SIGNATURES NEXT JAN. 15.

REP. JOHN CONYERS, D-N.Y., WHOSE 1969 HOLIDAY BILL NEVER GOT OUT OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, ANNOUNCED HE WILL INTRODUCE THE MEASURE IN THE NEXT SESSION OF CONGRESS.

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JAN 6 1971

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-47

(KING)

CHICAGO--FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER SHOULD BE SUSPENDED FOR TRYING TO "WHITEMAIL" THE LATE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., THE REV. JESSE L. JACKSON SAYS.

JACKSON, HEAD OF OPERATION BREADBASKET OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE MONDAY ABOUT AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN TIME MAGAZINE. THE ARTICLE SAYS KING MET WITH HOOVER IN 1964 AND WAS CONFRONTED WITH WIRETAP TRANSCRIPTIONS REVEALING ALLEGED EXTRAMARITAL ACTIVITIES BY KING.

JACKSON CALLED ON PRESIDENT NIXON TO SUSPEND HOOVER AS DIRECTOR OF THE FBI AND DEMANDED THAT HOOVER'S "FITNESS FOR HOLDING OFFICE" BE REVIEWED BY: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION; A PANEL OF BLACK JURISTS AND LAWMAKERS; EMINENT CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS; AND A GROUP OF BLACK AND WHITE PSYCHIATRISTS.

JACKSON SAID HE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT A MEETING BETWEEN KING AND HOOVER AND "EVEN IF IT WAS TRUE IT'S IRRELEVANT BECAUSE DR. KING'S CONTRIBUTION TO HIS PEOPLE WAS NOT ONE OF SEXUAL PROWESS BUT ONE OF COMMITMENT TO LIBERATION."

JACKSON CHARGED HOOVER WAS GUILTY OF "COMPLICITY IN A PLOT DESIGNED IN ESSENCE TO 'WHITEMAIL,' AS FORMERLY IN 'BLACKMAIL,' AND TO INTIMIDATE DR. KING SO AS TO PREVENT HIM FROM CARRYING OUT HIS CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES."

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ATLANTA--THE WIDOW AND THREE FORMER TOP AIDES OF MARTIN LUTHER KING ACCUSED THE EDITORS OF TIME MAGAZINE OF PRINTING "GOSSIP AND INNUENDO" ABOUT KING'S ALLEGED EXTRAMARITAL SEX LIFE.

"TIME MAGAZINE DISCREDITS ITSELF IN SEEKING TO THROW MUD ON A MAN ADORED AND LOVED BY MILLIONS, BLACK AND WHITE," SAID A PREPARED STATEMENT ISSUED THROUGH THE OFFICES OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE.

"IT DISCREDITS ITSELF IN STOOPING TO SENSATIONALISM THROUGH FICTION AND IRRESPONSIBILITY. WE SUGGEST THAT TIME REREAD ITS OWN STORY ON DR. KING'S IMMORTAL CONTRIBUTION, PUBLISHED WHEN HE WAS NAMED TIME'S MAN OF THE YEAR (1964).

"WE FURTHER SUGGEST TO THE TIME EDITORS THAT BEFORE THEY PRINT GOSSIP AND INNUENDO, THEY MIGHT CHECK WITH THOSE PRESENT FOR THE FACTS."

THE STATEMENT WAS SIGNED BY THE REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY, KING'S SUCCESSOR AS PRESIDENT OF THE SCLC, THE REV. ANDREW J. YOUNG AND THE REV. WALTER E. FAUNTROY. ALL SAID THEY WERE PRESENT DURING A 1964 MEETING IN WASHINGTON BETWEEN KING AND FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE 191

59 SEP 11 1970

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REC-62

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# FBI Handed Challenge on Dr. King Tapes

From UPI and AP

NEW YORK—Ramsey Clark, the former U.S. attorney general, challenged the FBI to reveal the truth about rumors that tapes from listening devices installed in the late Dr. Martin Luther King's hotel rooms were played to publishers, senators and others.

In an article in the current McCall's magazine, Clark said:

"The people of the United States should know whether this is true. Their government should tell them. The motives for such acts by the FBI, if true, are terribly dangerous. The purpose could only be to destroy a great leader and as a consequence to divide the nation."

"We should not be surprised if the police make such use of surreptitious invasions of privacy. The very act cultivates its own abuse."

CLARK, NOW in private law practice, called wiretapping "the act of an incipient police state." He said it was irrelevant to most crime, and often is "guided by the prejudices of those who would overhear."

"The risk of leaks, blacklists and blackmail is extremely high," Clark said. "Eavesdropping brings out the worst in human nature."

"That the FBI would tap the phones and bug the hotel rooms of Dr. King should tell us all we need to know about the desirability of those practices."

"This great American, who sought change through nonviolence, was a public man, his conduct open."

"A lead of black America, he offered more hope for reconciliation of the races than any other person. The risks of surreptitious police surveillance of such a leader are immense."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Detroit Free Press  
Detroit, Michigan

*G. P. [Signature]*

Date: 1/28/70

Edition:

Author:

Editor: Mark Ethridge

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Detroit

Being Investigated

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NOT RECORDED

FEB 6 1970

1970

# Martin Luther King Day?

Reprinted from MANCHESTER (N.H.) UNION LEADER 6/1/1971

8 It is noteworthy that while in the very act of calling for the establishment of the late Martin Luther King's birthday as a national holiday, his erstwhile successor as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, gave a revealing insight into his own tastes in black leaders, praising Angela Davis, accused of complicity in murder, and the racist Black Panthers.

When confronted with such blatant demagoguery, it seems to us that it is wrong not to speak out in protest. While we would prefer to speak only good of the dead, and while we recognize that there is much sincerity behind many of the encomiums being heaped on Dr. King's memory, it is imperative that the American people retain perspective on this man. We simply cannot stand idly by and allow the truth to be buried.

Therefore, it is important that the American people look at "the other side" of Martin Luther King, with the understanding that no man is totally good or totally evil.

While Dr. King spoke and wrote pious words about "brotherhood," the record will show that:

--His words often created the restlessness and discontent which overt demagogues used to stir blacks to rioting, looting and murder.

--That Dr. King's calls for "freedom" for blacks must be measured against his often demonstrated lack of concern for the freedom of non-Communist Vietnamese, Congolese, Cubans, Tibetans and other victims of Communist enslavement.

--That he openly associated with such identified Communists as Jack O'Dell, his aide, and participated in rallies for Communists.

--That he was contemptuous, of what he called "our irrational obsession with anti-Communism," while in the same breath he openly praised known Communists.

--That he ignored the vigorous protests of such Negro civil rights leaders as Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins and insisted on tying the civil rights movement to the cause of the Viet Cong.

--That he permitted his assistants to organize pro-Viet Cong demonstrations at which he himself spoke -- and where the American flag was burned -- causing Dr. Alfred Jarrette, author of "The Negro in Politics," to write that King "has been used as a tool of the Communist Party in several instances."

--That despite his concentration on "rights," he marched into Chicago and took over one landlord's property and used it for rent collection -- without the owner's permission.

--That he openly sought to provoke violence by whites, telling the NEW YORK TIMES that his particular brand of "non-violence" was designed to "bring to the surface" the violence of white America.

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
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*C. J. [unclear]*  
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SEP 2 1971  
JUL 5 1971

"THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN"  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
March-April, 1971  
Page 8

JOSEPH [unclear]

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--That he used his "march" to try to blackmail Congress into passing legislation that he wanted, and threatened that if he didn't get it -- "I think the riots this summer (1968) will be worse than last summer. Talk of guerrilla warfare can increase and even become a reality."

--That he vilified America as "The greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." (1967)

--That he preached "peace" while backing a resolution calling on the United Nations to wage military aggression against Rhodesia.

--That (in 1967) this advocate of "love" compared U.S. military methods with those of the Nazis testing new methods and drugs in the concentration camps of Europe, and gave demagogic speeches accusing American GIs of killing innocent civilians in Vietnam, "mostly children," degrading children as they beg for food, raping young girls, and turning their mothers into prostitutes.

--That he spoke of "equal rights" while he was willing to work for preferential treatment in which the Justice Department hushed up a stolen car incident involving one of his top attaches, Hosea Williams.

--That he spoke for the admission of Red China to the UN and linked the question to civil rights.

--That this "great humanitarian" opposed aid to the Congo at a time when savages were slaughtering hundreds of Protestant missionaries and Catholic priests and nuns.

--That when he received the Nobel Peace Prize in Stockholm in 1964, he used the occasion to deliver a vicious tirade against the United States.

--That, in that very same year, the "saintly" Dr. King condoned malicious attacks on Barry Goldwater, who was falsely labeled as a bigot by black extremists.

--That he literally goaded FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover into calling him "the most notorious liar in the country," then used the statement as the basis of an abortive "get Hoover" campaign in which he suggested that Hoover was suffering from senility.

--That, in 1964, when a much-decorated New York policeman, Lieutenant Gilligan, shot in self defense and killed a Negro who had attacked him with a knife, Dr. King, that staunch advocate of "justice," publicly charged -- before the facts were in -- that Gilligan, subsequently acquitted, was guilty of "murder."

Honor Dr. King with a national holiday? Shades of George Orwell's "1984"!

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Reprints of this article from the MANCHESTER (N. H.) UNION LEADER are available. Prices, postage prepaid: 25 for \$1.00; 100 for \$3.50; 50 for \$15.00. Order from THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN, P.O. Box 4223, New Orleans, La. 70118.)

REC-28

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Action Urged on King Holiday

By HENRY ALLEN

10 An official of Rev. Ralph Abernathy's Southern Christian Leadership Conference warned yesterday that if Congress fails this year to make Jan. 15 Martin Luther King Day, black Americans might "close down the country" on Jan. 15, 1971.

The Rev. Wyatt Walker, a vice president of the organization that King headed before his assassination, joined with a group of black leaders in Harlem, including State Sen. Basil Paterson, to call on both Congress and New York State to make King's birthday a legal holiday.



A spokesman for the group, known as the Luther King Citizens Committee for a Martin Luther King Holiday, said that memorial activities in New York this Jan. 15 would include a rally at the Central Park band shell in the afternoon and a one-hour production at Harlem's Apollo theater in the evening.

Public schools in the city

will be closed in observance of the day.

Howard Bennett, national coordinator of the group, said about three million signatures have been gathered on petitions around the country in support of the proposed national holiday.

Bills in both Congress and the Legislature have yet to be acted upon.

Paterson called the bills "essential to the health of this nation."

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date DEC 31 1969

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# A holiday for Dr. King?

<sup>12</sup>  
A NEW group which calls itself the Washington King Holiday Committee is planning a "peaceful but forceful" mule train march on the Capitol on Jan. 15 to petition for that day to be made a national holiday to honor the birth of Martin Luther King Jr.

Previously, there had been considerable sentiment for making the date of his martyrdom a national holiday. So this is a welcome turn. Whatever one's feelings about honoring heroes, it is more in the Western tradition to celebrate their births than to stir up old wounds and rancors by dwelling on their deaths.

What saddens us about the plans for next month's march is that it is supposed to be led by Dr. King's widow, Coretta. Somehow to put her in the forefront of those asking for a King's Birthday holiday seems to us to be in dubious taste. It uses her badly and weakens the cause.

We are stirred whenever Mrs. King speaks out for her people and the poor — for better houses, better schools, better jobs and better breaks — but the formal sanctification of her husband would be better left to someone else.

S.C.

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 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News 12  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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Date DEC 31 1970

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# Shadowing of dignitaries at Dr. King funeral told

By Paul Galloway

Army intelligence agents followed dignitaries at the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Atlanta in 1968, a former intelligence agent disclosed Thursday.

Ralph Stein, 27, who co-ordinated domestic intelligence information on civilians for the Army from July, 1967, to October, 1968, said agents from the 111th Military Intelligence Group, stationed in Atlanta, were assigned to gather information on prominent figures who paid their respects to the slain civil rights leader.

Those attending the rites for Dr. King, assassinated April 4, 1968, in Memphis, included U.S. senators, governors and leading civil rights and anti-war advocates.

### Files kept on thousands

Stein told The Sun-Times the Army kept voluminous files not only on prominent persons but on tens of thousands of citizens who never made headlines and "who attended meetings of moderate peace groups and civil rights organizations, people who were engaging in lawful activities protected by the Constitution."

Stein gave examples of methods used by military undercover operatives in gathering, compiling and exchanging information on civilians.

He told of index cards he has on students and faculty members from a Wisconsin college campus collected by an Army intelligence unit in that area. Stein refused to identify the college.

### Evidence going to Ervin

"On a card, for example, will be the name of a professor and a date on which he is reported to have said something like 'I think America is wrong in being in Vietnam.'"

He also has in his possession, he said, photographs identifying students at the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis who took part in an anti-war demonstration.

The photos are stamped as being taken by the school's campus police and were turned over to an Army intelligence unit in that area, Stein said.

Stein said he was turning the materials over to the Senate subcommittee headed by Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.), which will investigate the military spying on civilians.

For four months of his three-year Army duty, Stein supervised the "left-wing desk" for the Counterintelligence Analysis Branch,

a staff element of the Army's highest intelligence unit under the assistant chief of staff for intelligence.

In addition to his section, the detachment at one time occupying an office in a building of the North Virginia Community College, near Washington, D.C. — contained a "right-wing desk" and a "racial desk," Stein said.

Stein, who now lives in Flushing, N.Y., and attends the New School for Social Research in New York City, said intelligence operations were divided into the "actual physical surveillance" of persons and groups and the compilation of reports on these individuals and organizations.

Stein declined to comment "for legal reasons" on whether the Army used wiretaps or other forms of electronic surveillance.

"The data banks are still being maintained," Stein said in a telephone interview. "The Army has destroyed some of the files but not all. I have sources in the Army who have told me that the microfilm file is still maintained."

"It is not being added to, however, because of recent disclosures. A lot of people in the Army sincerely are against it. They feel the Army has made a mistake in getting into this business of spying on private citizens."

### Some reports missing?

Stein said that during his period on the left-wing desk, his unit published a report on persons and organizations who opposed certain government policies.

The report, continually updated and contained in a loose-leaf file called "the Compendium," was distributed to intelligence officers in Army areas, Stein said.

"The Army later decided to withdraw these reports and destroy them, but I have been told by sources in the Army that a certain number can't be accounted for," he continued.

Stein said it is common practice for Army intelligence officers to meet informally with intelligence operatives from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, local police and other service branches to exchange information.

### 'Pressured by FBI'

"In every city where there is an Army intelligence unit, the commanding officer holds regular 'delimitation luncheons' with his civilian counterparts and with agents from the

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
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 CHICAGO SUN TIME  
 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
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Date: 12-18-70  
 Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL  
 Author: Paul Galloway  
 Editor: JAMES E. HOGE JR  
 Title: Weekly Intelligence Bulletin  
 Character: 100-44629  
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 Classification:  
 Submitting Office: CHICAGO  
 Being Investigated

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Air Force and Navy if they have units in the area. These become a forum for exchange of information," Stein said.

The Air Force and Navy have not been as greatly involved in intelligence activities, he said, chiefly because of manpower limitations.

It was because of the Army's ample manpower that it was pressured by the FBI to continue its civilian surveillance operations, he added.

"A lot of this is not going on anymore," said Stein, who is conducting an independent study of Army intelligence activities. "The top Army leaders and civilian Pentagon officials are trying to stop it, but they are not being told all the truth. Jordan (Robert E. Jordan III, Army general counsel) has been given half-truths and evasive answers."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Mrs. Coretta King In Freedom Concert

Foundation and the Cincinnati-SCLC. Tickets may be obtained at Mt Zion Baptist Church, 325 N. Wayne Ave., Lockland, and at the door Saturday night.

A SPECIAL benefit performance of Mrs. Coretta Scott King's unique "Freedom Concert" will be presented at 7:30 p.m. Saturday in the Convention-Exhibition Center. The sponsoring organization is the Cincinnati chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded by Mrs. King's late husband Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Conceived, written, narrated and sung by Mrs. King, the concert is her own

moving story of "the freedom movement from Montgomery to Memphis." In it she describes and interprets that movement and the experiences she shared with her husband for 13 years to his assassination in Memphis, Tenn., in 1968.

Mrs. King, a soprano, graduated from the New England Conservatory of Music. She will be accompanied at the piano by Russell C. Goode of Chattanooga.

Proceeds will go to the Martin Luther King Jr.



Mrs. Coretta King  
... 'shared experiences'

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

- 58 Cincinnati Enquirer  
Cincinnati, Ohio
- Cincinnati Post  
Times Star  
Cincinnati, Ohio
- The Citizens Journal  
Columbus, Ohio
- Columbus Dispatch  
Columbus, Ohio
- Dayton Daily News  
Dayton, Ohio
- Journal Herald  
Dayton, Ohio

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Date: 12/4/70  
Edition: Final  
Author:  
Editor: Brady Black  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER JR.  
Character: 100-14700  
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Classification: 100-14309  
Submitting Office: CINCINNATI  
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53 JAN 5 1971

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**WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE  
FOR MR. TOLSON**

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- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Brennan *BB*
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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# Black Institute, King Center Part Ways

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P. 2A

ATLANTA JOURNAL AND CONSTITUTION

ATLANTA, GA.

INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD

Date: 9-29-70  
 Edition: SUNDAY  
 Author: BILL MONTGOMERY  
 Editor:  
 Title:

Character: RM  
 or  
 Classification: AT 157-4032  
 Submitting Office: ATLANTA

Being Investigated

By BILL MONTGOMERY  
 A unit of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Atlanta has separated from the parent organization in a philosophical split on how black people can best achieve self-determination.

The Institute of the Black World, a research center of black history and culture headed by historian Dr. Vincent Harding, became a separate entity, dissolving official ties with the MLK Memorial Center on Sept. 1.

A joint statement by Dr. Harding and Dr. Julius Scott, executive director of the memorial center, terms the separation a mutual decision. The Institute of the Black World, organized as a unit of the King Memorial Center last fall, has held workshops and seminars for scholars from the nearby Atlanta University Center and around the nation on the black experience.

## 'Experimental' in Beginning

Officially, the relationship between the institute and the memorial center was termed "experimental" from the beginning. The public statement of the separation declares "as a result of accumulated experience it became clear to both the center and the institute that their interest and potential would be maximized by the IBW becoming a fully autonomous and independent organization."

Although the effective date of the separation was given as Sept. 1, a corporation charter filed with Secretary of State Ben Fortson for the Institute of the Black World is dated in June.

Dr. Harding was appointed the first executive director of the memorial center when it was established last year, overseeing both the Institute of the Black World and the Library Documentation Project of Dr. King's civil rights movement.

In a shakeup early last month, Dr. Harding moved to full-time direction of the IBW, and was succeeded by Dr. Scott, a educator, as over-all head of the center's operation.

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## Split a Surprise to Center

Neither Dr. Harding, Dr. Scott, nor Mrs. Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader and president of the MLK Memorial Center, would speak in detail of past relationships between the IBW and its parent unit. But several sources say the split was initiated by the IBW and was a surprise to officials of the center. In interviews with the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Mrs. King and Dr. Harding outlined philosophies divergent in several ways, though aimed at the same goal of black people controlling their own destinies.

Mrs. King sees the memorial center as a monument to her husband, a "place for developing new strategies for the pro-

cess of social change which will reflect Martin's thinking and spirit."

She sees the center as closely tied to the spirit and strategies of Dr. King's non-violent movement, cooperation with whites, and very much a part of the American experience.

## Turbulent History Probed

The institute, established to seek answers from turbulent history about where the Negro race is going, has a different perspective.

"On basic grounds we see ourselves as tied very much to Africa," says Dr. Harding, whose office in the frame house on Beckwith Street near the Atlanta University Center contains artifacts and literature on the black continent.

"If we are to have any spiritual integrity, our basis has to be African, but we must recognize the dynamics of the experience of being enslaved and carried to another continent. Many aspects of our life in the Western Hemisphere have to be taken into consideration. We can't ignore what has happened to us here."

## Not Wed to King Philosophy

While paying tribute to Martin Luther King and recognizing his role in history, Dr. Harding and his colleagues at the IBW are not wedded to King's strategies and concepts.

"We don't see ourselves tied to any one particular philosophy," said Dr. Harding. "One of the basic tasks is to develop a philosophy toward the liberation of black people, a philosophy that would not simply be a borrowing of Western traditions."

Mrs. King envisions the center as a historic and cultural shrine to the non-violent civil rights movement, as well as an educational institution. High on the list of priorities for the MLK center is a proposed institute for non-violent social change, which its proponents hope can be established next year.

Dr. Scott, who is also chairman of the sociology department at Spelman College, plans to take full charge of the non-violent institute when it is established. He sees its task as researching and seeking new ways to further social change through peaceful means.

Dr. Harding, on the other hand, feels that "nonviolence is only one of several ways, all of which must be interpreted in new ways, to achieve freedom."

## Slave Revolts Examined

The early American slave revolts of Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey must also be examined to determine their mean-

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Associated Press Wirephoto

**DR. VINCENT HARDING TELLS PHILOSOPHY**  
**Goal Is Black Control of Own Destiny**

ing to blacks today. "We are studying everything that is part of our experience. We are not advocating, only trying to find answers."

The Institute of the Black World is primarily a research or-

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ganization, Dr. Harding said, not an action group.

The leaders of the MLK Center and the IBW take a widely divergent path on their institution's relations to whites.

## Mrs. King: Use All Creative Abilities

"The center can and should use the creative abilities of many people," said Mrs. King. "They don't have to all be black — this is important."

Dr. Harding's IBW has another view. All staff members are Negroes. "There are many occasions where it is not appropriate for whites to be present in black deliberations," the historian said. "There is a certain sense of relaxation involved that logical white people can understand."

"The very concept of self-integrity and self-determination means there should be a certain distance from those who at worst are colonizers and at best occasional friends."

Dr. Harding gave as an example the recent international Congress of African Peoples here, which barred whites, including news media people, from its deliberations.

"It's important for white people not to get uptight about black people coming together," Dr. Harding said. "We are moving toward new days and they need to move toward new habits, new ways of thinking."

Mrs. King said she felt IBW's approach should be examined, but outside the framework of the MLK Memorial Center.

## Racial Cooperation Favored

"Martin believed that black people should control their own destiny but through sharing and cooperation . . . we (at the center) have emerged from our cruel past and feel in spite of this we must work toward a community of brotherhood. This is what Martin Luther King tried to do, he was willing to die for this. We must not be diverted from the objective he sought."

Dr. Harding feels the future of American blacks is still unclear, that the nature of their society is one which still requires much thought.

"I avoid speaking about what kind of society because I am still thinking about this," Dr. Harding said. "One thing is clear to me — if black people are to remain on the North American continent and in this country we must be the ones to set our direction. We cannot depend on American society to set a direction which has any health."

The riddle is too complicated for answers like "integration" or "back to Africa," says Dr. Harding.

"We think about new wine in new wineskins," he added.

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A BOOK FOR TODAY

# King's Problems With the FBI

By DAVID HOLMBERG

The King God Didn't Save: Reflections on the Life and Death of Martin Luther King Jr. By John A. Williams. Coward-McCann, Inc. 221 pages.

This book has gained public attention because of its discussion of FBI wiretaps on Dr. Martin Luther King; the taps, according to black novelist John Williams, were part of a systematic effort by the white power structure to discredit and destroy Dr. King.

The book is more interesting, though, for its revelation of Williams' ahistorical view of the world. Williams, whose best known previous work is "The Man Who Cried I Am," carries his black consciousness to that delicate point where a literary and historical perception of reality is sacrificed to the revolutionary ideal.

He makes his position clear in a revealing sentence that begins Chapter 2: "The United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 issued what used to be called a historic ruling against segregated

schools." This is, of course, patently absurd. History is by its nature an unyielding force; it cannot be altered by one man's simplistic denial of its reality. What Williams means is that the Supreme Court ruling was an inadequate response to injustice by a corrupt white society, and that is an arguable but legitimate view. But to say that the decision "used to be called a historic ruling" is a kind of mindless, propagandistic indulgence that leads nowhere and says nothing.

The premise for Williams' view of Dr. King is more rationally stated in the next Chapter: "Since the Montgomery boycott both blacks and whites have learned — blacks to their impatience and deepening frustration, and whites to their pleasure and relief — that the American sociopolitical system is designed to, and does, absorb a greater number of minority group demands than they ever believed possible — absorb them without altering the pattern, pace, or practice of society, without altering the foundations one mil-

limeter."

Dr. King, according to Williams, was absorbed in the same way: He was used to assuage the vague but gnawing guilt of white society; he was allowed to achieve those minimal demands which did not fundamentally threaten the power structure; his philosophy of non-violence was a conveniently restrained form of revolution which whites knew could ultimately be controlled.

And Dr. King himself, in Williams view, was uniquely suited to play his role: He was a well-educated Baptist minister from a respectable, middle class family whose instincts were essentially those of a middle-class Protestant; he could be momentarily abrasive to white society but never permanently alienated from it.

In supporting this view of Dr. King, Williams traces what he claims were a series of compromises and defeats: the Birmingham campaign, Albany, Chicago. And even in his finest moment, the March on Washington of 1963, there was, according to Williams, a voice from the crowd that challenged the very essence of his message:

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- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date 9-11-70

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"I have a dream," M.L. said again, and behind us, his voice lost to all but those close to him, a man screamed "... that dream, Martin! Now, goddamit, NOW!"

It was only when King opposed the Vietnam war and began his Poor People's Campaign that he truly became a threat to white society, Williams claims, and it was then that he died:

"To the Vietnam issue ... he came with a certainty that must have made some people realize that (he) could with the right breaks actually become a genuine power to contend with. He was, after all, considered to be a possible running mate on a peace ticket with Dr. Spock. Most threatening of all was King's planned Poor People's March, for a person who seeks to unite the nation's poor across caste and class lines may have the ingredients for genuinely altering the society. Like others before him, he is a danger; he must go."

Williams offers no new insights — political, historical, or psychological — in presenting this view of Dr. King, with the exception of the wiretapping discussion. As a novelist, he would be expected to have some emotional perception of Dr. King as a man acting in the world, but he fails here too. He oversimplifies the decisions he faced and diminishes him as a human being. ("This was the makeup," Williams says at the end, "of the small pudgy man who was Martin Luther King. He lived in his time and by design and accident made himself a force beyond it.")

The deficiencies of this book — it is also badly organized and stylistically shoddy — cannot be explained away by Williams' racial consciousness or by his radicalism. Another black writer whose political views are similar to Williams recently produced a biography of King which succeeded on virtually every level where Williams has failed. Williams has simply uncovered a few headline-grabbing revelations about King's problems with the FBI, and tossed them in together with his own dubious interpretation of Dr. King's life. What it adds up to is of little value in literary and historic terms, and entirely too predictable and dogmatic in its radical perception of the world.

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ones. The white press, Williams says, "so thoroughly indoctrinated King and his people with the idea that capitulation of the bus company [following the Montgomery, Ala., boycott] was a victory for the blacks that they believed it; believed, too, that other things would inevitably fall like tin soldiers, all in a neat line."

King, says Williams, suffered from a fatal inability to perceive what was happening to him, and believing in himself, continued to lash out at the white power structure. "He did not understand that it had armed him with feather dusters," Williams writes. "He was a black man and therefore always was and always would be naked of power, for he was slow, indeed unable, to perceive the manipulation of white power, and in the end white power killed him."

But not, Williams believes, without some help from King himself, for King

white society, he compromised Williams: "Compromises that seem to favor black people have always turned out to be defeats for them. 'Political expediency' is nonexistent for Negroes. The demands made must be stood by."

The Doctors. Only toward the end of his career, Williams feels, did King fully understand the realities of power in America and begin to take the steps that would have made him a truly effective leader by seeking to unite the nation's poor across class and color in opposition to the Viet Nam War. This, Williams argues, so threatened the hegemony of the white power structure that it decided that King must be destroyed.

King unwittingly provided the noose. Suspecting that some of his associates had Communist connections, the FBI began tapping King's telephone and bugging his hotel rooms in 1963. From a

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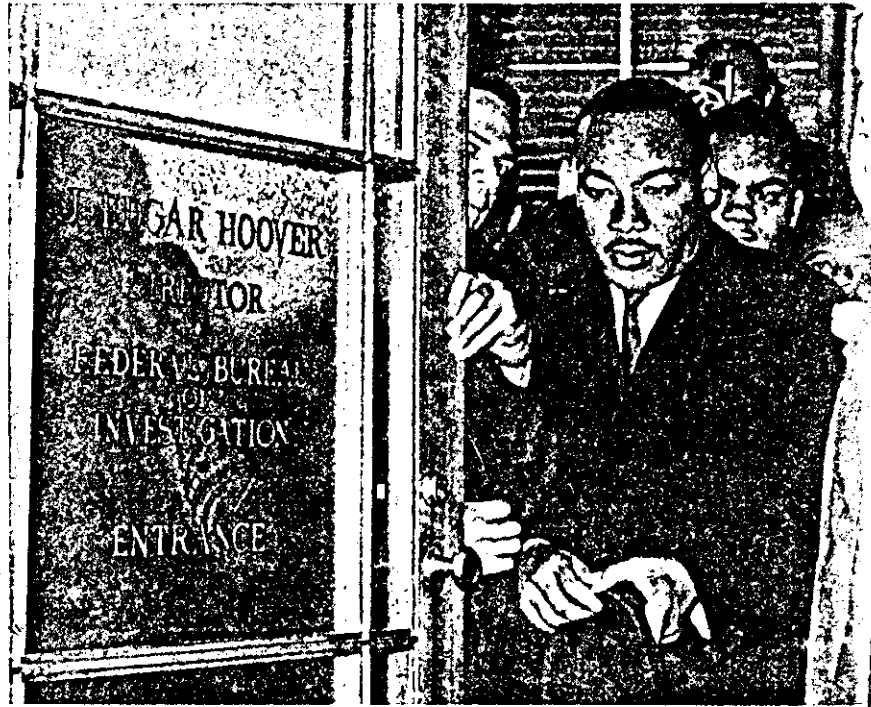
### OPINION

#### Posthumous Pillory

No black American was so widely honored in his lifetime; yet segregationists denounced Martin Luther King Jr. as a Communist and worse, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover once publicly branded him a liar, and militant blacks eventually came to see him as a "sellout" to the white Establishment. Now a black writer has added yet another—and unlikely—epithet to those fastened on the assassinated leader. In a new book, *The King God Didn't Save* (Coward-McCann, Inc.; \$5.95), Novelist John Williams (*Night Song, The Man Who Cried I Am*) calls King a failure.

Full of frustration and seething black anger, Williams' book is both a compassionate catalogue of King's strengths and achievements and an agonizing reappraisal of his weaknesses. Dedicated to the memory of the man Martin Luther King "could have become had he lived," the book argues that King was the complicitous victim of a "white power" plot to manipulate, castrate and ultimately destroy him.

Fatal Inability. Though Williams' work is disorganized and repetitive, its message is clear. Williams believes that white power corrupted and then co-opted King by making him believe that he had power when, in fact, he had none. Williams says King's concessions so far could not demand major



○ KING LEAVING HOOVER OFFICE (1964)  
Armed with feather dusters and flawed by hubris.

suffered from the tragic flaw of *hubris*. An ambitious, middle-class Christian, he sought success and basked in the public recognition that his efforts brought him, says the author, who interviewed many of King's friends and associates in preparing his book. King gloated over a magazine poll that showed him to be the nation's most respected black leader, savored his meetings with presidents and kings, accepted the Nobel Prize as if it were an inalienable right rather than a cherished award.

But he could not, states Williams, relate to the black underclass or understand its impatience with a system that refused to recognize its legitimate demands. Because of this lack of understanding, the angry Williams charges, King did what no black leader can afford to do if he is really to influence

curity viewpoint, the wiretaps uncovered nothing. They established no links between King and the Communists. But Williams reports, they did turn up a astonishing amount of information about King's extensive and vigorous sexual activities. (According to one of Williams' sources, identified only as Person A, "Martin and the rest of them had code. A very attractive woman was called 'Doctor.' I forget the other name for women not so attractive." Williams' informant was a "Doctor.")

Private Detail. Most newspapers ignored the rumors and leaks to them King's extramarital activities, but their existence undermined King's effectiveness just the same. The effect, says Williams, was one of slow political assassination; King was spared "only the bullet of James Earl Ray."

133 AUG 21 1970

Williams has the correct outline of the FBI tape story. What he does not have is precisely what happened at the celebrated meeting between FBI Director Hoover and King in 1964. Hoover, TIME learned, explained to King just what damaging private detail he had on the tapes and lectured him that his morals should be those befitting a Nobel prize-winner. He also suggested that King should tone down his criticism of the FBI. King took the advice. His decline in black esteem followed, a de-

cline scathingly narrated by Williams.

Williams' anger over the slow progress of the fight for equality is more understandable than some of his charges. His depiction of "white power" as "a marsh underfoot for anyone not white . . . treacherous and deadly" is, of course, wildly exaggerated. Far more serious, King himself was less a victim than he was a victor. His leadership brought conscience and cohesion to the cause of black equality, while his faith in the tenets upon which the

country was founded forced America to recognize the equity of its demands and Congress to take action to meet them.

King's compromises were not calculations, but sane and sound recognition of the way progress historically has been wrung from the American system. He may have failed to reach his ultimate goal. But by serving as the catalyst for the formation of a truly national civil rights movement, he laid the groundwork for its possible success in the future.

- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
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- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Brennan, *CD* \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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*S.C. News*

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

# Abernathy Renamed President of SCLC

ATLANTA, Ga. (UPI) — The Southern Christian Leadership Conference re-elected the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy its president at its 13th annual convention's closing session yesterday. It also attacked the FBI.

Yesterday's business session also adopted 10 resolutions, one of them venting the civil rights organization's anger over a recent Time magazine article which implied that its founder, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., had a "vigorous" extramarital sex life.

Another resolution called for complete withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam by the end of the year.

Abernathy, who Thursday night called for SCLC to sponsor another nonviolent mass march on Washington to "put this country on trial," was re-elected along with all other incumbent officers.

The delegates, in a resolution, attacked the FBI for "their failure to meet their legitimate responsibility such as protecting civil rights leaders, stopping narcotics traffic and other organized crime."

Then they lashed out at a Time magazine article which said FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover met with King in 1964 and allegedly showed him wiretap tapes containing intimate glimpses into his sex life.

The article said King was allegedly forced to soften his criticism of the FBI, but the SCLC denied the story and said three SCL officials at the 1964 meeting called the wiretap story "absolutely not true."

\* \* \* \*

*G. J. [unclear]*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) *A* \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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The Washington Mer...ound

# FBI Used King File in Killer Hunt

By Jack Anderson

Now that the lid has been lifted on intimate aspects of Dr. Martin Luther King's life, this column can reveal details which good taste dictated we withhold at the time of his murder.

After the Nobel prize winner was gunned down on the balcony of his Memphis motel on April 4, 1968, the FBI began painstakingly piecing together the complex strands of his life in hopes this would lead them to his killer.

The FBI's work was made easier by the fact that it already had a substantial file on Dr. King compiled through a series of wiretaps started in 1963 at the direction of Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

This electronic snooping, first disclosed by this column, illuminated some dark corners in the civil rights leader's private life. The FBI reports showed that the minister's dynamism and courage had made him enormously attractive to many women.

One of these was the "wife of a prominent Negro dentist in Los Angeles," said a report dated Feb. 20, 1968. This information was furnished by a confidential informant who said Dr. King had been having an "illicit affair . . . since 1962 with the woman.

"The source related an incident which occurred some

time ago in a New York City hotel, where King was intoxicated at a small gathering," the report said. "King threatened to leap from the 13th floor window of the hotel if this woman would not say she loved him."

The dentist was known to be furious about the reported liaison. In fact, the information given the FBI suggested that the wife's baby might have been fathered by Dr. King.

Sifting each fact in the murder case, the FBI found that James Earl Ray, the suspected killer, had been in Los Angeles shortly before he returned east to stalk Dr. King. Could the jealous dentist, the FBI wondered, have hired Ray to slay King?

This column, at about the same time, learned the name of the dentist and we flew immediately to Los Angeles. There, in an emotional interview, the wife told us her relationship with Dr. King was "merely a friendship." Her husband loyally backed her up.

We asked her whether she had called Dr. King and she responded sharply, "I didn't call him. He called me." She said, however, he had telephoned frequently and that on at least one occasion she had seen him off at the airport.

She said Dr. King had confided in her that the FBI was watching him. But she steadfastly denied any intimacies.

Our interview and checks around Los Angeles convinced us that the dentist could not have had anything to do with Ray. The FBI came to the same conclusion.

## Buckley a Traveler

While most reporters scheme and save to take those foreign trips that give stories exotic datelines, columnist William Buckley journeys at the taxpayers' expense.

The urbane Buckley, as a member of the advisory commission to the United States Information Agency, has taken three overseas trips for USIA head Frank Shakespeare.

USIA has benevolently picked up some \$3,768 in travel and other expenses while Buckley has served two masters—the USIA and the demands of his trenchant column. The junkets took the millionaire-writer and sometime politician to Vietnam, Thailand, Vienna, Russia and Eastern Europe.

Buckley commented that when he took his advisory job 13 months ago he told USIA "I wasn't going to adjourn my professional life. I write from wherever I am." The columnist spoke of all the hours he has put in for USIA on his travels, then purred, "In fact, I am an unsung philanthropist."

## Town Is Ailing

Fuguay-Varina, N.C., is a lit-

tle farming town whose people have found themselves almost without medical care. Two of its four doctors have died recently.

Parents have to drive miles for their children's appointments. The two doctors left in the area work literally night and day. Like so many small communities, it is impossible to attract young general practitioners to Fuguay-Varina.

But although the doctors have stayed away, the politicians haven't. This time, it has been a lucky thing for the town. One of the political campaigners was Rep. Nick Galifianakis (D.-N.C.).

The congressman saw both a political and a medical issue. Since then, the congressman has won the support of 127 of his colleagues for a solution to problems like those in the little town.

It would allow the federal government to pay off education loans of young doctors and dentists who go to practice in such towns and in poor urban areas for three years. The measure would cost only about \$10 million a year, but has an uphill struggle in this Congress.

Meantime, Galifianakis has his staff looking for doctors who want to practice in the pleasant rural town of Fuguay-Varina, N.C.

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- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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# SCLC Urges Hoover Inquiry

By ALEX COFFIN

J. Edgar Hoover should be suspended pending an investigation into his fitness to serve as director of the FBI, Jesse Jackson of Chicago, director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket, said Thursday.

Jackson, speaking to the Atlanta Press Club, attacked what he called Hoover's misuse of his office in claiming that he confronted Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1964 with wiretaps of alleged extra-marital activities in order to get the civil rights leader to tone down criticisms of the FBI.

Jackson said the real question is whether King was right in his demands for equality. He accused Hoover of trying to "whitewash" King with "very intimate information . . . that doesn't matter" and with

charges about activities Jackson called a "social norm" for many prominent persons.

Jackson said, "The FBI says it doesn't have enough money for catching dope peddlers, but runs around making stag films."

Jackson, here for the SCLC's 13th annual convention, attacked the Nixon administration's emphasis on war rather than on solving the problems of poverty, substandard housing and inadequate health programs.

He said the administration is "not pulling people out of themselves, but pushing them back into their old prejudices."

He said that the fear some white politicians feel about black leaders is a fear of true democracy and added that "aristocracy under a thin veneer of democracy" exists in the nation today.

At the morning session of the convention, the Rev. J. E. Lowery of Atlanta, chairman of the SCLC board, said that blacks not whites, "must determine our agenda."

Lowery said that before the direct action movement, whites determined the destiny of blacks through the courts and other methods and the result was control over blacks.

He said blacks now must find ways to control their destiny through the administration of justice, education and in the area of non-violence.

Lowery said blacks must insist on appointment of black judges and must not allow whites to take away the right of black youngsters to be taught by black teachers by saying quality education can't take place in a predominantly black school.

He condemned the "Western morality that declares that any expression of violence on the part of the disinherited is immoral while on the part of the majority it is necessary to keep the peace, maintain law and order and protect the world."

- Mr. [ ]
- Mr. [ ]
- Mr. [ ]
- Mr. Bishop [ ]
- Mr. Brennan [ ]
- Mr. Callahan [ ]
- Mr. Casper [ ]
- Mr. Conrad [ ]
- Mr. Felt [ ]
- Mr. Gale [ ]
- Mr. Rosen [ ]
- Mr. Tavel [ ]
- Mr. Walters [ ]
- Mr. Soyars [ ]
- Tele. Room [ ]
- Miss Holmes [ ]
- Miss Gandy [ ]

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Page 17-A

Atlanta, Georgia

*G. P. [ ]*  
*Shackelford*  
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Date: 8/14/70  
Edition: Morning  
Author: Alex Coffin  
Editor: Reg Murphy  
Title:

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Character: IS-C IS-RM

Classification: 100-5718  
Submitting Office: Atlanta

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# McGovern Tells SCLC It Can Assist Change

By ALEX COFFIN

Sen. George McGovern said Wednesday night if the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will just stay on the case, the calm of social change through love and non-violence shall redeem the very soul of America."

Speaking at the SCLC's 13th annual convention's banquet, the South Dakota senator said:

"This nation of ours is suffering, but it can be healed. Stay

on the case, SCLC. This nation of ours is blind, but it can be made to see. Stay on the case, SCLC. This nation has become halted in its passion for justice, but it can be set in motion again."

McGovern urged the SCLC to "stay on the case" until the hungry are fed, the naked are clothed, the homeless are housed, the jobless are employed and this nation "studies war no more."

McGovern said the nation must guarantee a minimum income for the poor just as it guarantees price supports for cotton planters, an oil depletion allowance for oil-rich millionaires and subsidies to shipping interests and airlines.

"Close on the heels of the good news of economic security for the poor will come the good news to the nation that crime is on the decrease, that delinquency is coming under control and that our central cities can breathe again," McGovern told a packed banquet room at the Marriott Motor Hotel.

McGovern earlier had criticized the "venal effort" being made to defame the memory

of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

McGovern was referring to a Time Magazine article saying that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover confronted King with recordings of alleged extramarital activities in an effort to get him to tone down criticism of the FBI.

McGovern said it was a "shoddy effort to becloud the memory of Dr. King but I think I know its cause—a deepening insecurity which makes men fear instead of trust, hate instead of love . . . Is this the state to which we have fallen? Is character assassination . . . reaching even into the grave—necessary to protect our public security?"

During the dinner, Ely Landau, producer of a film on the life of King, was given the SCLC Special Award by Mrs. King. Archbishop Helder Camara Pessoa of Brazil was awarded the Martin Luther King Jr. Award by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, King's successor as SCLC president.

Abernathy also made a \$1,000 grant to the mother of Fred Hampton, a Black Panther slain last December in Chicago.

- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Brennan
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Walters
- Mr. Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Page 18-A

Atlanta, Georgia

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

Date: 8/13/70  
Edition: Morning  
Author: Alex Coffin  
Editor: Reg Murphy  
Title: COMINFIL

Character: IS-C IS-RM  
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Classification: 100-5718  
Submitting Office: ATLANTA  
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'STAY ON THE CASE'

Sen. George McGovern

54 AUG 25 1970

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# SCLC Leader Says FBI Is Continuing Wiretaps

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 11 (AP)—The president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference charged today that the FBI still is tapping telephones of officials within the civil rights organization.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy responded to questions about a Time magazine story which said FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover confronted the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. with wiretaps disclosing alleged extra-marital activities.

Mr. Abernathy was asked at a news conference if the FBI is continuing to tap the telephone conversations of top SCLC officials.

"Yes," he replied, "not only of SCLC officials but just about anyone who stands up

for justice in this country today."

Asked how he could tell the telephones were tapped, Mr. Abernathy replied:

"You just pick up the telephone. You don't have to be a Philadelphia lawyer to know that someone is listening."

"We don't have anything to hide," he said in the news conference which opened the annual convention of SCLC. "We have the right to stand up and fight for those rights we are guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. We will continue to move forward in spite of these acts."

Neither the FBI nor the Justice Department had any comment on Mr. Abernathy's statements.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Washington Post Times Herald 4-11
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
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- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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UPI-192.

(SCLC)

ATLANTA--THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE TODAY CONDEMNED THE FBI AND A "WAVE OF REPRESSION" IN AMERICA. IN ANOTHER OF 10 RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE CLOSING BUSINESS SESSION OF ITS 13TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 53 :): :-) OF ITS 13TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, THE SCLC CALLED FOR COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA BY THE END OF THE YEAR. THE REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, WHO LAST NIGHT CALLED FOR THE "TRIAL" OF THE UNITED STATES IN WASHINGTON NEXT SPRING FOR ALLEGED CRIMES AGAINST BLACKS, WAS REELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION.

THE SCLC ATTACKED THE FBI AND DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER FOR "THEIR ATTACKS ON DR. (MARTIN LUTHER) KING AND THEIR FAILURES TO MEET THEIR LEGITIMATE RESPONSIBILITY SUCH AS PROTECTING CIVIL RIGHTS, STOPPING NARCOTICS TRAFFIC AND OTHER ORGANIZED CRIME."

THE LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY DREW THE IRE OF THE SCLC AFTER A PUBLISHED ARTICLE IN TIME MAGAZINE RELATED THAT HOOVER TOLD KING AT A WASHINGTON MEETING IN 1964 HE HAD WIRETAPS DETAILING ALLEGED MARITAL INFIDELITY. THE ARTICLE SAID THE TAPES WERE USED TO GET KING TO TONE DOWN HIS CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN.

THE RESOLUTION NOTED THAT THREE OTHERS WHO MET WITH KING AND HOOVER HAD SAID THE PUBLISHED REPORTS WERE "ABSOLUTELY NOT TRUE."

THE SCLC ALSO CRITICIZED A "WAVE OF REPRESSION" IN THE NATION AGAINST BLACKS, POOR PEOPLE, YOUTH AND OTHERS WHO DISSENT IN PROTEST. IT URGED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO GUARANTEE AN ANNUAL INCOME OF \$5,500 A YEAR.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*J. Mark*

# Hoover-King Case Calls for Probe, Is Classic Anti-Wiretap Example

Chalk up another victory for the liberals who have been fighting wiretap encroachment by law enforcement agencies on the general public.

In a classic case to support the anti-wiretap campaign, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover allegedly threatened Dr. Martin Luther King to lay off criticism of the FBI or wiretap evidence of Dr. King's extramarital sex activities would be revealed.

THE INCIDENT, which had been rumored for some time, is contained in a new book about Dr. King and elaborated upon by Time magazine in its review.

According to Time, a wiretap had been placed by the FBI on Dr. King's phone to determine if he were engaged in subversion. No evidence was found, but there allegedly was considerable evidence of the late black leader's philandering.

Mr. Hoover, according to Time, lectured Dr. King on his morals, after describing the tapes, and suggested that he tone down his criticism of the FBI.

Dr. King reportedly took Mr. Hoover's advice, stopped criticizing the FBI's sending southern agents to investigate civil rights cases in the South, and gradually lost standing among the blacks.

If the Time story is true, it is incredible that such a high-ranking official as Mr. Hoover could stoop to such blackmail. But, even if it is not true, it is a graphic example of the danger of how wiretap evidence, collected only incidentally during an investigation, can be used by the wrong people for blackmail.

CERTAINLY THIS CASE is serious enough to warrant a top-level investigation. It is very unfortunate to have the late Dr. King's reputation and the cause he served besmitched, but it is of the utmost importance for the country to know if Mr. Hoover used his power as alleged. If he did, he obviously should be removed from office and tough curbs should be adopted to prevent such a misuse of evidence.

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Page 4

THE DAILY PRESS  
UTICA, NEW YORK

*C. J. ...*

Date: 8/11/70  
 Edition: Morning  
 Author:  
 Editor: William H. Lohde  
 Title: Subject Newspaper  
 Character: UTICA, N.Y.  
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 Classification:  
 Submitting Office: Albany  
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Callahan  
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# Proceeds From King Film: \$3.5 Million

Associated Press

NEW YORK — The producer of a documentary on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said Wednesday that showings of the film in the United States and overseas Tuesday night raised an estimated \$3.5 million.

Producer Ely Landau said more than 700,000 persons in 300 U.S. cities and Copenhagen, Amsterdam and Jerusalem attended the one-time showings. Tickets were \$5 each.

Landau said the program was an "overwhelming success" even though the turnout did not reach the hoped-for million mark.

Proceeds from the showings will go to the Martin Luther King Jr. Special Fund, an organization dedicated to continuing the slain civil rights leader's nonviolent struggle against poverty and inequity.

Screenings of the film, "King: A Filmed Record . . . Montgomery to Memphis," was marred in some areas, including Washington, by bomb threats. No bombs were found but one theater in New York canceled the showing.

*DeLoach*

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_ C-10  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Walters
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Swars
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)



KING

**King film  
benefit  
March 24**

Whether you're shaggy-haired and angry or neatly cropped and silent, the night of March 24 should offer you something to believe in and support:

A movie will be shown at the Hawaii and King Theatres on the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

It will cost you \$5, and 100 per cent of it, with no deductions whatsoever, will go into The Martin Luther King Jr. Special Fund.

The same night you see the film in Honolulu, an estimated one million other people will be watching it in other theaters across the country.

The total take is expected to raise upwards of \$5 million.

ENTITLED, "King: A Filmed Record - Montgomery to Memphis," the full-length film traces King's work from 1955 until his death in 1968.

It was produced by Ely Landau, whose credits include "Long Day's Journey Into Night" and "The Pawnbroker."

Raw material for the film came from the archives of every major news-film source in the United States. Show business personalities donating their talents include:

Harry Belafonte, Dihann Carroll, Ben Gazzara, Charlton Heston, Burt Lancaster, Walter Matthau, Paul Newman, Sidney Poitier, Anthony Quinn, Leslie Uggams and Joanne Woodward.

The stars were directed for connecting sequences by Joseph L. Mankiewicz and Sidney Lumet.

Honolulu's representatives for the one-night showing are former Gov. William F. Quinn and City Councilman Charles M. Campbell.

PRODUCER Landau, who conceived the idea for the event, has arranged for no deductions from receipts of the exhibition.

Selling expenses, theaters, raw stock expenditures, print processing, production costs and every other outlay are being absorbed by the persons participating.

Landau has donated ownership rights to the negative of the film.

The \$5 million expected to be raised will go to the King Special Fund, a tax-deductible general philanthropic foundation incorporated under the laws of New York State.

It will seek to carry out King's principles and ideals in the use of non-violent methods to promote equality among men, provide economic opportunities for the disadvantaged, raise public health standards among the poor and other related projects.

Tickets, tax deductible, are available at Consolidated theaters during box office hours and at the King and Royal Theaters. Every ticket guarantees a seat on a non-reserved seat basis.

*Handwritten signature: H. Lass*

REC-58

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

HONOLULU ADVERTISER  
HONOLULU, HAWAII

A-18

Date: 3/13/70  
Edition: HOME  
Author:  
Editor: GEORGE CHAPMAN  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character:  
or  
Classification: 157-175  
Submitting Office: HONOLULU

Being Investigated

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# Honoring Martin Luther King

Soon after the death of President John F Kennedy, a nervous trend spread across the nation to name or re-name highways, buildings, playgrounds and other public facilities after him.

There is something superficial and maybe even hypocritical about such 'memorial' efforts, and the impulse did get out of hand.

Now, there is growing sentiment that today, January 15, should be made a national holiday, because it is the date on which Dr Martin Luther King Jr was born.

We share that sentiment.

Like the re-naming of a bridge, the declaration of a 'national holiday' is, in reality, a meager memorial. The greatest memorials to Dr King will never be found in such efforts, but in the pursuit of the goals, of the dream, for which he fought. The 'mountaintop' he envisioned could not be represented by the most elaborate statue on earth, however well-meant its construction might be.

But the fact remains that while we institutionalize and honor the birthdays of several white Americans, none of the black men important in our nation's history receive the same kind of official remembrance.

Dr King is to be revered, too, not only as a great Negro leader, as one of the most significant social activists of this country, but as a great man, one who appealed to what is best in all men, who in essence stood for the dignity of not his race alone, but of the human race in totality.

Some will scoff that a day's freedom from work or school is scant homage to a man of Dr King's stature, and we agree. The fitting tribute to Dr King will be the achievement of the justice he sought in his lifetime. Sadly, that day may be far off.

Now, it would be an appropriate and commendable gesture to make January 15 a national holiday, in celebration and remembrance of a man who urged us all to walk a little taller, to strive for something better than what we are.

*my*  
*9/20/70*  
*J. Edgar Hoover*

- The Washington Post Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) 5

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Poster

# Irreplaceable Black Leader

A Commentary  
By Nicholas von Hoffman *B-1*

Many people will keep holiday tomorrow, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday. They will not be of one race only. Dr. King had a huge white following when he was alive and has a larger one now, almost two years after his murder. If there are any future historians they may write that he was the most important public figure of his time so that men like John Kennedy, J. Edgar Hoover, Earl Warren and Bull Connor may be principally remembered for their connection with Dr. King.

He wasn't a man of original thought, not really creative, but he could recognize other people's new ideas and he wasn't too proud to pick them up and use them. He did this with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Taking up the ideas which it couldn't disseminate, he propagated them, incorporated them into his own work. SNICK saw the issues first and more clearly, but Dr. King could explain them to millions of people and persuade them to act.

He began as a black leader of black men and women; on the day of his death he was a black leader of people of all races, and on the question of the Vietnam war his following was principally white. It's only now that blacks in large number are starting to manifest opposition to the war.

Some people who admired him said that in a way it was a blessing he died when he did; they said he was slipping, that he was losing his hold on the masses and that he was too much a rural preacher to be effective in the Northern cities where the worst of the struggle had moved.

Dr. King had these dips in fortune before. His was a leadership that went in alternately bright and dim phases as events and the public mood fluctuated. This is to be expected of a man who wasn't ever able to organize a steady base and whose underlying message always had to overcome his considerable defects as a calculating player of political games.

For all that, he was irreplaceable. When he died his funeral pyre was the burning of 20 American cities.

When men such as Dr. King pass on, their work is uncompleted because what they desire to accomplish is so grandly large. They leave us, not so much with work unfinished, as with ideals clarified and strengthened. The greatest of these, perhaps, was nonviolence. Dr. King made nonviolence as manly, as courageous an ideal as gunslinging, although an ideal it remains, given the continued tempo of our murders.

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- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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*G. C. Johnson*  
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The political murders are the worst. They destroy fidelity and trust like no other crimes. They're never forgotten and years after the victims have been buried people ruminate over them, feed their paranoia and grudges. Nothing anybody can do can allay such a reaction, but it helps a little if the crimes are as fully and completely explained as is humanly possible.

This is all the more important when there appears to be some substance to the ruminations. Our political murders, at least those of the last decade, all have blacks, liberals or radicals as their victims. Let's hope it's simply coincidence that Republicans, conservatives and reactionaries don't get killed, but still the situation is such that the very least that can be done is to put everything that is known about these crimes on the public record.

That hasn't happened with Dr. King. The suspicion persists that James Earl Ray was part of a conspiracy. People like Jack Anderson of the Washington Merry-Go-Round have tried to discourage the talk, saying it's circulated by Dr. King's collaborators in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to help them raise money, but such scoffing won't sell. The official explanation of how Dr. King was murdered can only be accepted by the gullible and those blessed with great faith in what politicians tell them.

From time to time officials connected with the case have said that Ray did it because he was a racist, but they haven't produced evidence to show he was more of a racist than a lot of other people who don't commit murder. What the record shows is a man who committed crimes for money, a burglar, a robber and a forger, not an ideologue.

The prosecution contended that this man broke out of the Missouri State Penitentiary in 1967, roamed about the country for a year making his living by crime and then made his way to Memphis where he stalked Dr. King and killed him. After the murder they say that he escaped to Atlanta, Montreal, London, Lisbon and then back to London and he did it all on money he'd either saved up from the profits of older crimes or by committing new ones the particulars of which they're rather vague on.

It may all be true. It's possible but it gives James Earl Ray a career profile different from that which most small-time crooks have. Usually this type doesn't make much from their crimes and what they make they spend.

Ray himself has persistently said there was a conspiracy. He said it when he pleaded guilty for the murder and he's said it since. Just because he says it doesn't make it so, but even if he did do it alone there are many questions about how he did it and how he escaped. It was not a simple case and before he pleaded guilty the prosecution had lined up 90 witnesses to testify to all its puzzling details.

Even the judge, the late W. Preston Battle, confessed there was much which needed explaining: "Like other I would truly like to know how Ray actually found the spot from which to fire. How did Ray know when Rev. King would be? How did he determine the type of weapon to be used? What are the details of the actual purchase and selection of the weapon? Was he alone in surveillance of the Lorraine Motel (where the murder took place)? Most puzzling of all is his escape from Memphis."

The judge wasn't sure that a trial would answer all these questions: "It is an error to assume that the prosecution would have had a chance to cross-examine Ray about his finances or how he escaped from the Missouri State Penitentiary, or about persons who gave him any aid before or after the slaying of Dr. King. That assumes Ray would have taken the stand, I doubt very seriously that defense counsel would have risked placing Ray in such a position. In fact, as I understand it, this all along has been one of the main problems

between Ray and various men who have acted for the defense. They counseled against it, and he kept wanting to take the risk."

The lawyers may have been right then, but the trial's over and Ray still wants to talk. He can't be tried again and he keeps saying from his maximum security cell that he has a story to tell. It may be that he's some kind of nut. Many people believe he just wants attention and fame. He's already got that. When his bullet struck Dr. King, at that second he got into the history books just as George Wallace did by trying to bar the highway from Selma to Montgomery.

Let a congressional committee subpoena Ray, or give him an opportunity to testify in a court by trying him for a lesser charge like violating Dr. King's civil rights, or form another one of those commissions to take his story down while he stays in the penitentiary, but some way should be found before he's murdered. An administration like the one in office with such a fine nose for conspiracies should be up to the task of determining if there was one here.

# King's Casket Moved Quietly To Old Church

By Bruce Galphin  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A-4

ATLANTA, Jan. 13 — The casket of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was removed from Southview Cemetery just before dawn today and reinterred under two arching pecan trees next to the church where he used to preach.

The scene was in stark contrast to Dr. King's funeral here 21 months ago.

On that warm spring day, 200,000 mourners came to pay final respects to the apostle of non-violence, and the lengthy proceedings were televised and reported around the world.

Early this morning the only attendants were members of the family, some members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a two-man police guard and staff members of a local funeral establishment. The ceremony was kept private at the wishes of the family.

### Quiet Landmark

The removal was accomplished with so little fanfare that few Atlantans today realized the tomb was now resting fewer than a hundred feet away from Auburn Avenue — "Sweet Auburn," as it was known when it was the center of Negro life in Atlanta.

A scattering of people stopped by during the day as two city policemen kept guard in a nearby patrol car. At Southview, the King tomb had become a major Atlanta landmark, attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors.

One day the new tomb will be a part of the Martin Luther King Memorial Park adjacent to Ebenezer Baptist Church, where Dr.

King was co-pastor with his father. But today the tomb rests near the center of a field of mud and winter-browned grass.

The white marble monument is even simpler than the one in Southview — which remains the property of the cemetery.

On the short end are two crossed branches and the words, "Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968) Free at Last, Free at Last, Thank God Almighty, I'm Free at Last." The quotation comes from a slave spiritual which Dr. King frequently quoted in speeches; it was also inscribed on his first tomb.

### Tears and Flowers

On either side of the face is a small marble urn, today filled with artificial roses. During the afternoon a middle-aged black woman, sniffing back tears, added a pot of yellow chrysanthemums.

The Atlanta Braves baseball organization has promised to sod the area with grass before memorial services Thursday's, commemorating Dr. King's birthday.

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. King's successor as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, gave a brief prayer today at the reinterment.

The moving of the grave was a surprise only in its timing. It has long been planned that the tomb be part of the memorial center. A museum of Dr. King's life will be built nearby.

Other parts of the memorial, a library documentation project and the Institute of the Black World, already have been established at Atlanta University.

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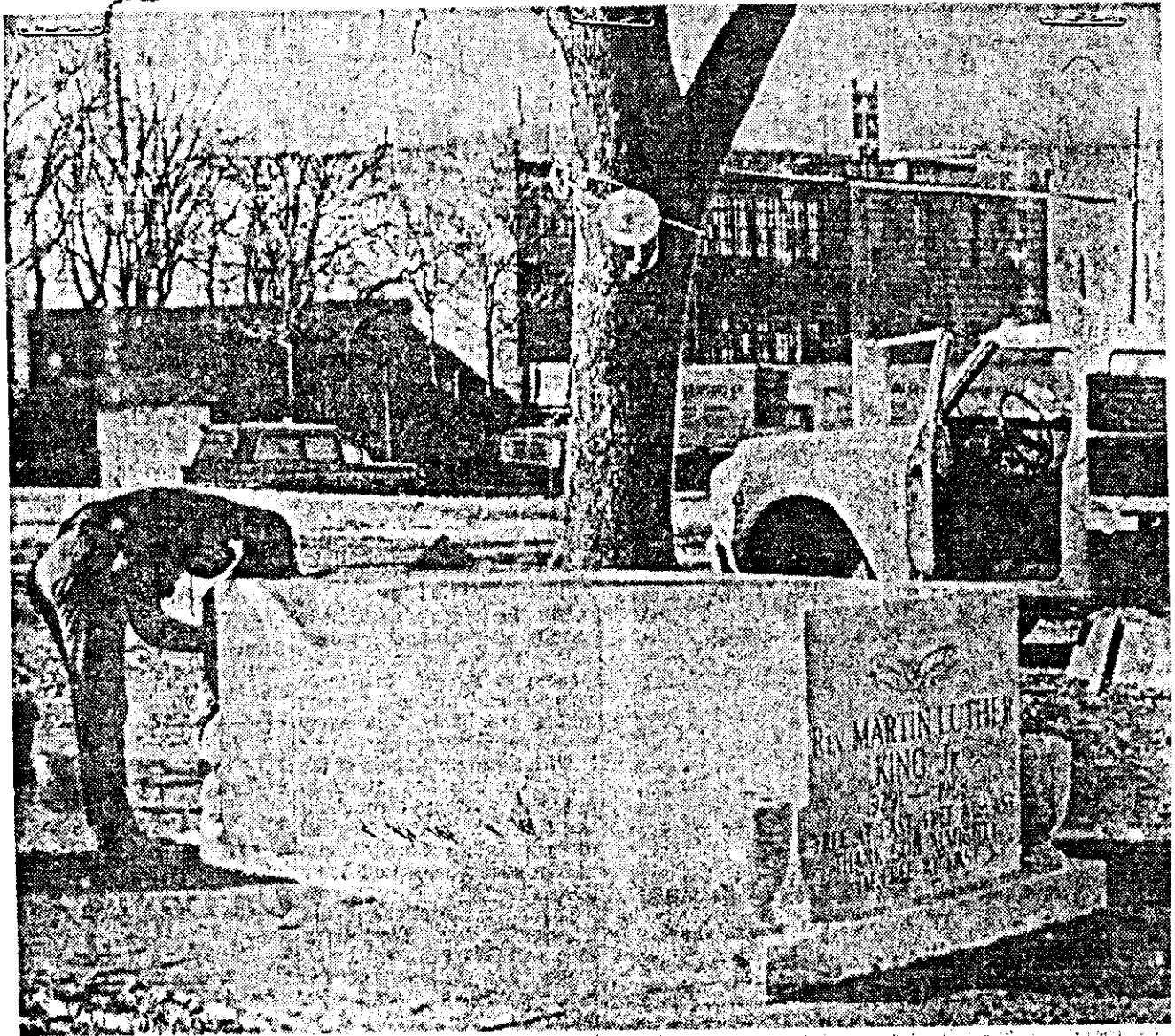
- The Washington Post Times Herald A-4
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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Atlanta workman brushes new crypt of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. after reburial near his old church.

Associated Press

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City Life *c-2*

# King Holiday Rally Planned at Howard

Organizers of activities to mark the birthday of the late Dr. Martin Luther King said yesterday they will hold a King holiday rally at 2 p.m. Thursday at Howard University's Crampton Auditorium.

Fannie Lou Hammer, a Mississippi civil rights leader, will speak, along with Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.). The program will include a film, "King from Montgomery to Memphis," which is scheduled to be shown at 1,000 theaters in the country beginning March 24.

The Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, of the organizing committee, said acting D.C. School Supt. Benjamin Henley would allow students with written permission from their parents to take the afternoon to attend the rally.

Mayor Walter E. Washington has established a

eral leave policy" for city employees who wish to take the day off as a holiday. Mr. Fauntroy said Conyers, along with 24 other congressmen who are sponsoring a bill to have Jan. 15 declared a legal holiday, have written to the mayors of 65 cities urging them to establish the holiday.

David Otto, coordinator of the D.C. Moratorium Committee, urged Moratorium supporters to circulate petitions for the new holiday at Thursday's rally.

The Washington Post *c-2*  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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### Dr. King services set

The District government plans an official commemorative service at the District Building Jan. 15 to honor the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King.

A non-denominational church service also will be held probably at the National Cathedral, City Council Vice Chairman Sterling Tucker said yesterday. Mr. Tucker represents the council on a committee of government, church and business leaders planning the ceremony.

In addition, the schools will sponsor speech contests in honor of Dr. King, he said. The city government has already agreed to liberal leave policy Jan. 15 so city employees can attend ceremonies.

The Washington Teachers Union also announced it will ask the school administration for a massive teach-in and the closing of District schools at 1 p.m. to permit students to participate in the Southern Christian Leadership rally at the D.C. Coliseum. Union president William Simons said the teach-in would include programs about Dr. King, the "immortal Vietnamese war and the "racist institutions that govern America."

*C. F. Adams*  
*G. G. Jones*

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
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## Martin Luther King 5 ceremonies set here

City government, religious and business leaders planned to announce today that they would mark the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King Jan. 15 with a series of ceremonies and religious services.

District leaders said that they were setting up ceremonies because Congress has failed to pass a bill making Dr. King's birthday a legal holiday.

It is expected that a liberal leave policy will be set for city employes on Jan. 15. City officials plan a ceremony at the District building. Several churches have set special commemorative services and representatives of the business community plan their own observance of the day.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star, (Washing) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washing) \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gandy *W.B.*

City Life H-5

# King Anniversary Set Here Jan. 15

The birthday of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on Jan. 15 will be observed here with a variety of special events, city officials announced yesterday.

Mayor Walter E. Washington said that planning the observances will be undertaken by his office, the City Council, the city schools and religious, civic and business organizations. A liberal leave policy will be in effect for city employees, the mayor said.

The city encouraged special observances last April, on the first anniversary of the assassination of Dr. King, after about 150 angry citizens sat in at the City Council chambers.

But it turned aside a request that the day be proclaimed a holiday, in part on the grounds that it lacked the authority to do so. Bills pending in Congress would make Dr. King's birthday a national holiday.

## Takes GWU Post

Dr. Ronald P. Kaufman, now assistant director of the department of medicine at Hartford (Conn.) Hospital, will take over as medical director of George Washington University Hospital on Jan. 5.

Dr. Kaufman, who received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1955, practiced internal medicine in Hartford and taught at the University of Connecticut before taking his present post.

From staff reports and news dispatches



**DR. RONALD P. KAUFMAN**  
... medical director

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- The Washington Post Times Herald *H-5*
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**Honors for Dr. King**  
 Starting next year, Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, Jan. 15, will be known as Human Rights Day and will be an official holiday at the City University, it was announced yesterday. All 16 City University campuses will be closed on the day to honor the civil rights leader, born in 1929 and assassinated on April 4, 1968.

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# THE PASSING SHOW *P-8*

## 300 Cities Will See Film on Dr. King

One thousand theaters in 300 cities, including Washington, will show a film about Martin Luther King next April 7, the week of the second anniversary of his assassination.

The film, called "King: A Filmed Record . . . Montgomery to Memphis," is described as a record of Dr. King's life and work from 1955 to 1968. Stars who appear include Harry Belafonte, Diahann Carroll, Sammy Davis Jr., Ben Gazzara, Charlton Heston, James Earl Jones, Burt Lancaster, Walter Matthau and Sidney Poitier, in segments directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz.

The film was produced by Ely Landau, who also organized the one-time-only showing, after which a longer version will be made available to schools and churches. The theater version is 2 hours and 30 minutes long.

The sponsors of the event hope to raise \$5 million — a million tickets at \$5 each. The proceeds will go to the Martin Luther King Jr. Special Fund, which will disburse them to organizations that it considers to be carrying on the civil-rights leader's work.

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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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# Movie to Honor Dr. King

Plans for a movie "theater-party" in tribute to the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., expected to be attended simultaneously by more than one million people in more than 300 cities, were announced here yesterday.

A full-length film on the life and work of the civil rights leader, called "King: A Filmed Record - Montgomery to Memphis," will be shown on the night of Jan. 14 in 1,000 movie theaters.

The event is expected to raise \$5-million to help support organizations dedicated to carrying on the work of Dr. King from 1955 to his death in 1968. It is a project of movie producer Ely Landau, who has worked on the production for more than a year without compensation.

Details of the event were announced at a news conference yesterday morning at the Americana Hotel, called by a group representing the participants, including actor Sidney Poitier; Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America; Julian Rifkin, president of the National Association of Theater Owners; Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., and Mr. Landau.

"This event will establish Martin Luther King in the minds of people as the most peaceful leader of the 20th century," Dr. Abernathy said.

Mrs. King was visibly moved by a short segment of the film shown at the press conference. The compilation of film footage showed Dr. King leading the boycott in Montgomery, Ala., in 1955, confronting the police in the late 1950's and refuting calls to violence by black militants in the 1960's.

Mrs. King praised Mr. Landau, whose film credits include "The Pawnbroker," "Long Day's Journey Into Night" and "The Madwoman of Chaillot." She said the film had an importance beyond financial gains for civil rights groups.

"I feel the message in the spirit of Martin Luther King which is embodied in this production will be preserved for generations unborn and will keep alive those things

for which he died and bring about a community of brotherhood," she said.

Dr. Abernathy, referring to Dr. King, as his "friend, closest associate and perennial jailmate," said of the planned showing:

"This event will make it possible to put an end to racism, to put an end to war and to put an end to poverty in this most prosperous nation in the history of civilization."

A two-and-a-half-hour version of the film has been created for the Jan. 14 showings, which will mark the only time the motion picture will be exhibited in theaters. Admission price will be \$5. Another version, running four hours and 20 minutes, subsequently will be made available in 35-mm., 16-mm. and 8-mm. for presentation in colleges, schools, churches and other institutions.

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N.Y.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
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- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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# Movie to Depict Dr. King's Career

A documentary movie of the career of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. from 1955 in Montgomery to his assassination in 1968 in Memphis will be shown Jan. 14 in Atlanta and about 300 other cities, it was announced Thursday.

The movie, which uses television news film and tapes of Dr. King's voice, was produced by Ely Landau of New York, whose movies include "The Pawnbroker" and "The Madwoman of Chaillot."

As many as one million persons are expected to view the film, most of them paying \$5 per ticket. Funds from the one-night showing will be distributed to organizations carrying on the work of Dr. King, according to officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Atlanta, Dr. King's organization.

"VERY SIMPLY, the film seeks to tell the story of the career of Dr. King as a civil rights leader, a religious leader and a man of peace," said Tom Offenburger, SCLC director of information.

At a press conference in New York City, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. said the movie is important for more than the money it will raise.

"I feel the message in the spirit of Martin Luther King which is embodied in this production will be preserved for generations unborn and will keep alive those things for which he died and bring about

a community of brotherhood," Mrs. King said.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, who worked with Dr. King and is now president of the SCLC, said, "This event will establish Martin Luther King in the minds of people as the most peaceful leader of the 20th century."

Abernathy and two other SCLC leaders, the Rev. Bernard Lee and the Rev. Andrew J. Young, viewed hundreds of feet of television news film and listened to tapes of Dr. King's conversations as they helped in production of the movie.

THE PRODUCER, who was described as an admirer of Dr. King's civil rights efforts, is said to have suggested the documentary movie. Landau has worked without pay on the project since the spring of 1968. Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

After choosing the most appropriate films, the moviemakers wound up with a 2½-hour documentary. A longer version of 4 hours, 20 minutes will be available in 35, 16 and 8-millimeter film for showing in colleges, schools, churches and other institutions.

In one sequence, Dr. King is seen and heard discussing the importance of the civil rights protest demonstrations in Birmingham, and as he speaks films are shown of police dogs and fire hoses being used to quiet the demonstrators in the streets.

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- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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THE ATLANTA JOURNAL  
ATLANTA, GA.

PAGE 2A

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Date: 10/23/69

Edition: Final

Author: \_\_\_\_\_

Editor: JACK SPALDING

Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, Jr.,

Character: RM

or

Classification: 100-5586

Submitting Office: Atlanta

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# The Memorial To Martin Luther King

by William F. Buckley Jr.

WHAT TO DO ~~publicly~~ about Martin Luther King is becoming a Cause. One encounters here and there petition forms to Congress, requesting that his birthday be made a national holiday, like Lincoln's, or that the day of his assassination be made a national day of mourning, like Memorial Day.

And then Mrs. Martin Luther King, who clearly learned from her husband the uses of the press, is omnipresent: saying, sometimes, useful things. Saying, other times, most unfortunate things.

A week ago she revealed that she had been in communication with the administration concerning a national memorial to her dead husband. So far, unexceptionable. But she has now said she has abandoned the negotiations, on the grounds that she has detected an "indifferent attitude" towards black and poor people. "We felt that to get Federal support for a memorial would have been a beautiful thing. . . . But President Nixon's attitude, his lack of real concern, suggests that his administration is motivated by racist attitudes."

REALLY, IT IS enough to drive a politician up a tree. I can imagine what Mr. Nixon and his lieutenants and the leaders of Congress are saying privately about Mrs. King's intemperance, and it isn't good. The notion that "racist attitudes" motivate Mr. Nixon is paradoxically correct. Because Mr. Nixon would never have paused to negotiate with Mrs. King concerning a national memorial to her husband except for the fact that Dr. King was a Negro, and some might call this racist, as the word is nowadays used.

If he had been white, the suggestion of raising a monument to him would have been presumptively ridiculous, not because a white man carrying the message of Dr. King on into martyrdom would be less than an object of national honor, but because there is a long line of men who are deemed to have been national benefactors who have not yet been memorialized in ~~concrete~~ and some of them

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

- 6 Cincinnati Enquirer Cincinnati, Ohio
- Cincinnati Post Times Star Cincinnati, Ohio
- The Citizen Journal Columbus, Ohio
- Columbus Dispatch Columbus, Ohio
- Dayton Daily News Dayton, Ohio
- Journal Herald Dayton, Ohio

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Date: 10/8/69  
Edition: Final  
Author: William F. Buckley Jr.  
Editor: Brady Black  
Title: Martin Luther King

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have been dead (Andrew Jackson, say), for over 100 years.

MRS. KING AND THE supporters of her plan put a curious emphasis on the desirability of using Federal funds. The fact of it is that Dr. Martin Luther King was a hero and a martyr in one respect. In others — one thinks of his celebration of civil disobedience — he was the spokesman for a point of view on citizenship which in the opinion of some — e.g., me — is mortal to civil society.

Dr. King's discovery of the transcendent



Mrs. King

rights of the individual conscience is the kind of thing that killed Jim Crow all right. But it is also the kind of thing that killed Bobby Kennedy. And there are those who would be reluctant for that reason to be co-opted, as implicitly they would be, in any national monument constructed by Federal funds, or any holiday which called for the shutting down of national institutions.

SURELY WHAT MAKES sense here, as so often is the case, is to encourage people to act in their own behalf, to express themselves freely. The statue to Franklin Delano Roosevelt in London was built by the contributions of the British people, collected on a voluntary basis. When Sen. Robert A. Taft died, his friends, feeling deeply his loss, instituted a Robert Taft Institute one purpose of which was to collect money to construct a carillon on the park outside the Capitol. True, the government deeded over a few square feet of sod for the use of the friends of Robert Taft. And surely it would be a sensible compromise, in the present impasse, for the government to do as much for the friends of Martin Luther King. But let them then raise the money from private sources.

Memorials so constructed may be less grand than the behemoths undertaken by act of Congress. But they are in many ways more impressive. And surely it is fitting, under the circumstances, to follow the precedent: even as the friends of Robert Kennedy intend to do.

ABOVE ALL, MRS. King should be counseled to stop the racist talk. Because more of that, and she will antagonize those whom there is no purpose in antagonizing. It is time to mute the memory of one Martin Luther King, the advocate of civil disobedience who once likened America's foreign policy to Nazi Germany's; and stress instead the qualities that made him admirable — his courage, his moral strength, his great eloquence. That is not accomplished by attributing racism to the Nixon administration.

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- Callahan
- Conrad
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- Sullivan
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- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

# U.S. Funds for King Memorial?

What to do posthumously about Martin Luther King is becoming a cause. One encounters here and there petition forms to Congress, requesting that his birthday be made a national holiday, like Lincoln's, or that the day of his assassination be made a national day of mourning, like Memorial Day. And then Mrs. Martin Luther King, who clearly learned from her husband the uses of the press, is omnipresent: Saying, sometimes, useful things. Saying, other times, most unfortunate things.

A week ago she revealed that she had been in communication with the administration concerning a national memorial to her dead husband. So far, unexceptionable. But she has now said she has abandoned the negotiations, on the grounds that she has detected an "indifferent attitude" towards black and poor people. "We felt that to get federal support for a memorial would have been a beautiful thing. . . . But President Nixon's attitude, his lack of real concern, suggests that his administration is motivated by racist attitudes."

Really, it is enough to drive a politician up a tree. I can imagine what Nixon and his lieutenants and the leaders of Congress are saying privately about Mrs. King's intemperance, and it isn't good. The notion that "racist attitudes" motivate Nixon is paradoxically correct. Because Nixon would never have paused to negotiate with Mrs. King concerning a national memorial to her husband except for the fact that Dr. King was a Negro,

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If he had been white, the suggestion of raising a monument to him would have been presumptively ridiculous, not because a white man carrying the message of Dr. King on into martyrdom would be less than an object of national honor, but because there is a long line of men who are deemed to have been national benefactors who have not yet been memorialized in concrete, and some of them have been dead (Andrew Jackson, say), for over 100 years.

Mrs. King and the supporters of her plan put a curious emphasis on the desirability of using federal funds. The fact of it is that Dr. Martin Luther King was a hero and a martyr in one respect. In others—one thinks of his celebration of civil disobedience—he was the spokesman for a point of view, on citizenship which in the opinion of some—e.g. me—is mortal to civil society.

Dr. King's discovery of the transcendent rights of the individual conscience is the kind of thing that killed Jim Crow all right. But it is also the kind of thing that killed Bobby Kennedy. And there are those who would be reluctant for that reason to be co-opted, as implicitly they would be, in any national monument constructed by federal funds, or any holiday which called for the shutting down of national institutions.

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Memorials so constructed may be less grand than the behemoths undertaken by Act of Congress. But they are in many ways more impressive. And surely it is fitting, under the circumstances, to follow the precedent: Even as the friends of Robert Kennedy intend to do.

Above all, Mrs. King should be counseled to stop the racist-talk. Because more of that, and she will antagonize those whom there is no purpose in antagonizing. It is time to mute the memory of one Martin Luther King, the advocate of civil disobedience who once likened America's foreign policy to Nazi-Germany's: And stress instead the qualities that made him admirable—his courage, his moral strength, his great eloquence. That is not accomplished by attributing racism to the Nixon administration.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
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# White House Backs King Memorial

By Carroll Kilpatrick  
Washington Post Staff Writer

White House officials expressed surprise and dismay yesterday that Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. believed they were uninterested in helping establish a memorial to her husband.

Mrs. King was quoted as saying that "President Nixon's attitude, his lack of real concern, suggests that he has not evolved from racist reflexes."

Leonard Garment, special consultant to the President, said that the administration supports the idea for establishment of an Institute for Afro-American Affairs in Dr. King's memory.

While it declined to support a Martin Luther King national park it agreed to provide help in establishing a private memorial park to his memory, Garment explained.

Mrs. King's break-off in talks with the administration, apparently resulted from disagreement over the park plan.

Robert H. Finch, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, visited Mrs. King in Atlanta in April and wrote her in June about federal support for such an institute, Garment said.

On Aug. 1, Garment wrote Mrs. King that the President "has expressed great interest" in seeing that a suitable memorial is established to the memory of Dr. King.

"Secretary Finch has already communicated with you about the administration providing financial assistance for the Institute for Afro-American Affairs, a living memorial which we feel would serve the double purpose of honoring the name of Martin Luther King and of perpetuating the ideas for which he struggled," Garment wrote.

"In addition, although we are not prepared at the present time to propose legislation requesting the creation of a new national park, we are prepared to look for funds to assist in the establishment of a private memorial park."

Garment said that both the Johnson and Nixon administrations had considered proposals for a memorial to Dr. King and that the Nixon administration concluded that it would support an idea for a living memorial, providing services, embodied in an institute.

The first the White House knew that Mrs. King was unhappy about the plans was when she made her statement last week that the administration was not interested, Garment said.

*0  
Martin Luther King*

- The Washington Post Times Herald 9/30/69
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
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George Young, a Black Muslim known as 19X, was sentenced to life in the slaying of three men, one of them a Negro. He told the judge in Jacksonville, Fla., "I hate you all — the only one I feel sorry for is the wife of the Black man I killed." He also said he thought he should be set free because society had "oppressed" him.

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

## Resurrection City ban passes House, 334-55

By JONATHAN COTTIN

The House passed and shipped to the Senate yesterday a bill that would ban a repeat of last year's muddy Resurrection City encampment near the Lincoln memorial.

The measure, passed by a 334-55 roll call vote, directs that "The Secretary of the Interior shall not permit camping or overnight occupancy or the erection of any temporary shelter "except on lands "re-

gularly designated for such purposes."

The House Interior Committee's favorable report on the bill said that Congress must "conserve the values contained in the various units of the National Park System."

The panel said the Interior Secretary's authority is now "too broad." It was former Secretary Stewart Udall who approved the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's use of the grounds near the Lincoln Memorial for a six-

week Poor Peoples' camp-in.

A dissenting committee minority said the bill limits the Interior Secretary's flexibility in dealing with a crisis.

Rep. William F. Ryan, D-

N.Y., principal architect of the dissent contended that the bill is nothing more than "an after-the-fact reprimand of the former Secretary of the Interior."

*G Jones*

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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

### Dr. King school

The Prince Georges school board has named a new junior high school for the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The Annandale Road school is scheduled to open in the fall of 1971.

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CARL T. ROWAN A-11

# Principle at Issue in King Wiretap

Day after day the mailman has brought letters from people eager to prove that the late Robert F. Kennedy did not, as attorney general, urge and approve a wiretap on Dr. Martin Luther King because he considered King a security risk.

I have also received a batch of letters from persons happy to call Senator Kennedy "a phony who posed as a great friend of the King family" even while knowing that he had approved a gross intrusion of the civil rights leader's privacy.

Oddly enough, many letters on both sides refer vaguely to a so-called debate last year between Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy as proof of the point they hope to make.

The program these many readers refer to was ABC's "Issues and Answers" of June 1, 1968. The transcript shows ABC's Bill Lawrence asking Kennedy about reports that "as attorney general you specifically authorized or condoned a wiretap on Martin Luther King. Is this true?"

Kennedy replied: "I was involved as attorney general, had the responsibility for the national security of the United States. Under an agreement that was made by Franklin Roosevelt in 1940, the attorney

general was given permission to give approval of a wiretap — I never gave any permission for bugging. Nobody was given, nor was any permission asked for, in any case.

"I was given permission to wiretap in cases that involved the national security of the United States, where the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and others felt that the national security of the United States was threatened.

"I have never discussed individual cases, and it would be a violation of the law if I did, no matter what the political benefits might be for me. But what I do want to say is as far as Martin Luther King is concerned, he was a loyal, dedicated American who, in my judgment, made a distinct contribution to this country."

Now, what are the friends of the late senator to make of that disjointed, somewhat evasive, obviously embarrassed reply?

First, I consider it an admission that Kennedy approved the wiretap because "the director of the FBI and others felt that the national security of the U.S. was threatened."

We also note that Kennedy emphasized that he did not consider King a security risk, but "a loyal, dedicated American." This is completely contrary to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's allegation that Kennedy urged him to wiretap King.

Only knowledgeable readers will catch the significance of Kennedy's remark that he "never gave any permission for bugging."

Kennedy knew that the dirt the FBI was hauling to Capitol Hill and into editorial offices in an effort to destroy King had not come from the wiretap; it had come primarily from bugging King's suite at the Willard Hotel here in Washington and from the bugging of other hotel rooms and apartments.

That, dear confused readers, is the record of the TV debate.

But may I repeat that the "Kennedy or Hoover?" argument is irrelevant to the points I have made in earlier columns. I never wrote that Hoover installed "a wiretap" without Kennedy's approval. I said the FBI has used illegal wiretaps and buggings. (Note how careful Hoover and his spokesmen have been to say nothing about buggings. They assumed, apparently correctly, that the public and most of the press did not know the difference between a wiretap and a bug and would quickly

get lost in a smokescreen about Kennedy and the wiretap.)

I said the taps and buggings were immoral and un-American and that the use to which the FBI put material from the surveillance was despicable, to say the least.

What the public needs to focus on is not personalities—not a blind loyalty to a Kennedy for a King, or a Hoover.

The issue is the extent to which we, in our fear or frustration, will permit the erosion of basic Constitutional rights and the invasion of privacy.

Atty. Gen. John Mitchell has claimed an almost divine right to put electronic surveillance on almost anyone he thinks is out to subvert the status quo. He claims that this right flows to him through the President and that no court approval or supervision is required.

This kind of ominous assumption of power raises issues that transcend any fuss over the personalities involved.

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*B. J.*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) A
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUL 18 1969

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Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

# The King Case Is Closed

Righteous anger was unconfined in Liberalville last month when it was revealed in a federal court hearing that Martin Luther King had been under an FBI wiretap from 1961 until his death.

The expected public figures and expected newspapers quickly fell into line behind syndicated columnist Carl Rowan, and in the name of everything holy began chanting for the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover. For he had, they alleged, ordered the wiretap on his own.

If publicly pressed, most of those chanters would have insisted they had nothing against Hoover personally, mind you, but simply believed that anyone who could suspect King of wrongdoing did not deserve a position of high responsibility. "Highanded ... vicious ... dangerous ... ridiculous," the adjectives pinned on the FBI chief were almost endless.

Then Hoover dropped the bomb: Former Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy himself authorized the tap, he said, and FBI and Justice De-

partment records were available to prove it.

A great hush fell over Liberalville.

All the righteous anger that had — right up to the Hoover announcement — paraded noisily up and down its streets was suddenly shushed and yanked behind bolted doors like a naughty child. The wiretap of Dr. King ceased to be an issue in the twinkling of a lie.

But, you ask, if they called Hoover's action highhanded, vicious, dangerous and ridiculous, shouldn't they, in fairness, have labeled the Kennedy action with the same adjectives? In fact, wouldn't their failure to do that very thing suggest that Liberalville's residents, rather than being genuinely shocked over the treatment of Dr. King, simply saw the issue as a bench to stand on in order to reach Hoover's scalp?

Those are valid questions. But don't bother putting them to the citizens of Liberalville: For them, the King case is closed.

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*Eddy*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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*W. C. ...*  
*G. P. ...*

Page 6  
Phoenix Gazette  
Phoenix, Ariz.

Date: 7-15-69  
Edition: Evening  
Author:  
Editor: Edward Fitzhugh  
Title:

Character: Martin Luther King  
or  
King  
Classification: 44-38861  
Submitting Office: Phoenix  
 Being Investigated

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# Links Link King With Top

## Communists

By Paul Scott

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Private airing of the FBI's recording of private conversations Dr. Martin Luther King conducted with his protest advisers could go a long way toward changing the image of the slain civil rights leader.

Summaries of the recordings, as revealed to members of House Appropriation Subcommittee, headed by Rep. John J. Rooney (D.N.Y.) clearly indicate that King was in direct contact with one of the most influential communists in the U.S.

With leads obtained from their electronic eavesdropping, the FBI was able to confirm that this Kremlin agent, whose influence extended into the highest ranks of the Communist Party, USA, was one of King's ghost writers and chief advisers on protest strategy.

In addition to the evidence gained from the King recordings, the FBI succeeded in taking several photographs of the civil rights leader meeting with this covert communist operator at one of the major U.S. airports.

King, whose assassination in Memphis, Tenn., in April, 1968, is still carried as an "open investigation" by the FBI, was first put under surveillance in 1961 when the late Robert Kennedy was attorney general.

Although Kennedy after leaving the Justice Department denied any knowledge of the King's surveillance, FBI and Justice Department records show he authorized the inquiry during a conference attended by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, then Deputy Attorney General Nicholas de Katzenbach, and another high-ranking FBI aide.

The surveillance of King, now under fire by several large East Coast newspapers, was the outgrowth of information the FBI agents obtained during its investigation of another national security case.

When King's name was mentioned several times by one of the persons under surveillance in the case, it was decided that the civil rights leader should be placed under close observation.

The FBI inquiry, which continued for several years, involved King's trip to Sweden and East Germany as well as his preparations to lead the so called "Poor Army Campaign" to disrupt Washington.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

*J. Moore*

*G. Jones*

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A. G. C. REPORTER  
WILKINSBURG, PA.  
JUNF. JULY, AUGUST  
PAGE 4

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FOR THE RECORD — These and other still secret details of King's activities were revealed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to members of the Rooney subcommittee shortly before the civil rights leader was slain.

Deeply concerned about King's plans to disrupt Washington, the legislators had requested the briefing so they would be prepared to blunt his assault on Congress should that become necessary.

So alarming was the FBI's data on King that the lawmakers took the extraordinary step of briefing House Speaker John McCormack. This information along with other materials furnished by the FBI caused McCormack to make extensive preparations, including the alerting of military units, to defend the Capitol against King's plans to cause massive disruption.

The House Democratic leaders, all strong supporters of the late President Kennedy, were reputedly shocked at the guttertype language King used in private conversations about the late President.

Other recordings in the FBI files dealt extensively with his private life, according to the legislators, and showed that there were two Kings, one the public knew and the other known only to his closest friends and the FBI.

Although no government agency or commission made a study of King's long-range strategy of protest, there is enough evidence in the files of the FBI to show that King's goal was to create a mass protest movement. With the movement, King and his advisers hoped to force a racial change in the country's form of government.

King's leadership task was to give the over-all movement "motion" and an acceptable "image" that would attract millions of Negroes, young people, the poor, clergy, and those disenchanted with the Vietnam war.

# FBI Has Fastening Rec'd of King's Conversations

By PAUL SCOTT

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The FBI inquiry, which continued for several years, involved King's trips to Sweden and East Germany as well as his preparations to lead the so-called "Poor People's Campaign" to disrupt Washington.

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King's leadership task was to give the over-all movement "motion" and an acceptable "image" that would attract millions of Negroes, young people, the poor, clergy, and those disenchanted with the Viet Nam war.

His tactics in changing his protest leadership from one of civil rights to anti-war, anti-poverty, and anti-government during the closing days of his life were part of this grand strategy.

Whether most of these FBI recordings, since many of them deal with national security cases still under investigation, will ever be revealed by the Nixon Administration is conjectural.

Should supporters of King, however, pump new life into the stalled drive in Congress to create a national holiday honoring him, demands could become

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
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HUMAN EVENTS  
Washington, D. C.  
June 28, 1969



The late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King allegedly had conversations with an influential U.S. Communist.

that occurs, the "Martin Luther King tapes" could become big news.

For now, the only public confirmation of the King recordings comes from Houston Federal Judge Joe Ingraham's hearing involving the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay.

Testimony by FBI agents in the Houston hearing revealed that conversations of King and Clay were recorded. In one instance, Judge Ingraham pronounced it a matter of national security and refused to let it be made public.

Clay, convicted of draft dodging in June 1967, and sentenced to five years in prison, is appealing his conviction. The U.S. Supreme Court ordered Ingraham to hold a hearing to see whether illegal wiretap testimony was used to convict Clay.

Both the movement to mark King's birthday as a national holiday and the Houston court hearing clearly indicate that the final chapter in the Martin Luther King story is yet to be written.

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Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
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Mr. Trotter	✓
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Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

# Capital Briefs

○ Sources close to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover report that bureau files are "brimming over" with memos signed by former Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy authorizing electronic surveillance not only of Martin Luther King but other Negro militants. "This sort of stuff could seriously hurt Teddy in the militant community," said one high-level source who has seen the documents.

○ Former Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach changed stories in mid-stream last week as he attempted to defend Bobby Kennedy in the wiretap controversy. First, Katzenbach said he knew absolutely nothing about the tap. Twenty-four hours later, the former A.G. agreed that Bobby had signed the wiretap authorization, but implied that it was the FBI's idea.

*G. Moore*  
*Also*  
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Human Events  
 Washington, D. C.  
 July 5, 1969  
 Page 2

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# Drowning Men

The ethical perversion of the Kennedy and Johnson administration was never illustrated better than in the conduct of former attorney general Nicholas Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark when the FBI revealed it has been wiretapping the telephone conversations of Martin Luther King as a matter of security.

Clark denied knowing anything about the wiretapping and called upon FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to retire. Moreover, Clark was quoted by Negro columnist Carl Rowan as saying that "The implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The first time he was asked about it, Katzenbach, too, said he knew nothing about it. The very next day, however, he reversed himself and said that he not only knew about it but that Robert F. Kennedy, when attorney general, had "personally authorized" the wiretap.

But, Katzenbach added: "To say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy . . . is false."

Katzenbach said the FBI urged him "over and over" to approve the wiretap because the FBI believed King was either a Communist or a tool of the Communist Party.

As he had done just 24 hours earlier, Katzenbach had lied about this, too. And Mr. Hoover quickly proved it.

In an interview with a Washington Star reporter, Mr. Hoover stated that Kennedy had only approved the wiretap on King—but had initiated it!

Mr. Hoover said the signature "Robert F. Kennedy" was on the approval, and a memorandum from Courtney Evans, a close friend of Kennedy and the Justice Department's liaison to the FBI, showed Kennedy had initiated the wiretap.

The contents of the memos have not been made public, but they were shown to the Washington Star reporter to verify that they contained the information Mr. Hoover said they did.

According to The Star reporter, Jeremiah O'Leary, Kennedy expressed concern in one memorandum about possible infiltration of the race issue by Marxists and spoke of allegations that King was closely associated with Marxist ideas and followers. In that memorandum, Kennedy asked about the feasibility of installing electronic devices on King's telephones.

The second memorandum, written four months later by Hoover to Kennedy, stated that it was now technically feasible to apply wiretaps to King's telephones in two places, one of them an unnamed location in New York. The memorandum constituted the FBI's request for authority to proceed with the wiretap proposed by Kennedy four months earlier, and ~~has been~~

- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
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- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

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*G. Moore*  
*E. G. [unclear]*

The Lynchburg News  
Lynchburg, Virginia  
July 1, 1969  
Page A-6

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the lower left-hand corner the signature "Robert F. Kennedy." Under the name is the date "10-10-63."

Mr. Hoover declined to comment on the results of the wire-tapping. But he did say the taps were discontinued on April 30, 1965. Katzenbach was serving as attorney-general then.

Thus, Katzenbach and Clark not only branded themselves as liars, men whose word is not to be trusted, they also revealed themselves to be stupid. For, as former attorneys general, experienced in dealing with Mr. Hoover, they should have known that Mr. Hoover could document anything he said—and would not hesitate to do so in the interest of national security and to preserve the integrity of the FBI.

Throughout his adult lifetime, Martin Luther King played fast and loose with Communists, their fronts and fellow-travelers. He attended Communist training schools; he employed Communists; he associated with them, and he espoused many Marxist ideas. He followed the Marxist line on the Vietnam war. He took it upon himself to seize private property in Chicago and to collect the rents upon it. He flouted the law and he preached hatred, not love. In a remarkable interview with a New York Times reporter he revealed that his philosophy of non-violence consisted of taunting, and, if necessary, attacking law officers so that he could accuse them of "violence" when they defended themselves.

These facts are documented. They cannot be refuted. To even attempt to "explain" or excuse them is but to brand one's self as intellectually depraved. Katzenbach and Clark undoubtedly know much more about King's Communist connections than has been documented heretofore.

Why, then, their attempt to defend him by trying to smear J. Edgar Hoover? Their lies remind us of the desperate flailing of men on the verge of drowning in a sea of truth.

# King Wiretap Controversy

Who "bugged" the late Dr. Martin Luther King? That was the subject of a controversy raging through the Nation's Capital last week, involving everyone from obscure former Justice Department officials to President Nixon, and when the smoke cleared the finger pointed at another recent victim of an assassin's gun: The late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, the former U.S. attorney general.

The controversy first broke during the draft evasion hearings for former boxing champ Cassius Clay in Houston. Clay's lawyers claimed evidence against the Black Muslim advocate was gathered through illegal wiretapping. Not true, said the Justice Department, arguing that Clay's conversations were picked up on an FBI wiretap involved in a national security investigation of another man. That wiretap, an FBI agent revealed at the Houston hearing, was monitoring the phone calls of Dr. King, then head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

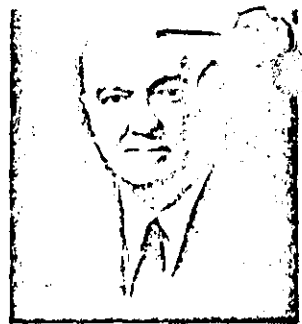
This revelation gave a field day to those many factions around Washington who wish to depose FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Columnist Carl Rowan called for Hoover's resignation outright, saying the FBI had no authority to tap King's telephone. Former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark said "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

In self-defense, Hoover himself went to the Washington *Evening Star*, taking with him two documents from his files. One of these was written in June 1963 by Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and its liaison man with the Justice Department. In it Evans reported to Hoover the substance of a conversation he had just had with Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy, brother of the then President.

Kennedy, Evans reported, was concerned over possible infiltration of the civil rights movement by

Communists and other Marxist types and was alarmed at reports that Dr. King, then unofficial leader of the movement, was associating with known Communists and was a student of Marxism. Evans told Hoover that Kennedy had then inquired as to the possibility of the FBI's installing electronic listening devices on King's telephones.

The second memorandum Hoover showed *Evening Star* reporters last week was dated Oct. 7, 1963—nearly six weeks before the assassination of President John F. Kennedy—and constituted an FBI request for



HOOVER



KENNEDY

(Prior to this authorization, Hoover told the *Evening Star*, FBI officials had in fact questioned Kennedy on the wisdom of tapping King's phone lines in view of possible political repercussions. Kennedy, however, was adamant, said Hoover.)

Capping off his self-defense, Hoover declared: "I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without written authority of the attorney general."

The question of who was responsible for authorizing wiretaps during Kennedy's tenure as attorney general flared up briefly after the late President's brother had become a U.S. senator from New York. Hoover and the then-Sen. Kennedy exchanged accusations over who bore the responsibility for use of hidden microphones in investigations (no names of subjects being mentioned) and angry letters were sent back and forth. It is reported that the FBI quickly reminded Kennedy it still had authorizations signed by him in its files. The public battle rapidly subsided.

But now the brouhaha is in full bloom once more. Hoover's interview with the *Evening Star* prompted yet another outburst from former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, charging that the FBI chief's defense was some sort of indecency "because it comes after Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been murdered in the service of humanity and are unable to defend themselves." Of course they were also no longer alive to support Clark, either.

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. DeLoach ✓
- Mr. Mohr ✓
- Mr. Bishop ✓
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt ✓
- Mr. Gale ✓
- Mr. Rosen ✓
- Mr. Sullivan ✓
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes ✓
- Miss Gandy ✓

*[Handwritten signatures and initials, including "JPM" and "G. F. ..."]*

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 191 AUG 7 1969  
 Washington, D. C.  
 June 28, 1969

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At his televised press conference the night the *Evening Star* story broke, reporters asked President Nixon for his comments on the controversy and whether or not he still had confidence in Hoover. "Mr. Hoover does enjoy my complete confidence," Nixon responded, saying that, as for the King incident, "I checked personally into the matter as to whether or not that surveillance which had been discussed had been conducted by him [Hoover] and the FBI, by themselves, or whether it had been, as is supposed to be the case, always approved by the attorney general."

"I found," Nixon concluded, "that it had always been approved by the attorney general, as Mr. Hoover testified in 1964 and 1965."

In light of President Nixon's comments, one of the most peculiar responses to Hoover's allegations came from former Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach. While conceding that Kennedy officially authorized the bug on King's phone lines, Katzenbach contended that "to say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy. . . is false."

"It is unworthy of the tradition of the FBI to attack in this fashion the reputation of two men who cannot defend themselves," said the Katzenbach statement.

Apparently it is wrong for Hoover to "attack" men

who can't defend themselves, but it is perfectly all right for others to attack Hoover when the only man who could defend *him* would be Bobby Kennedy.

But Nicholas Katzenbach is around to defend himself. Bobby Kennedy resigned as attorney general in September 1964, his assistant Nick Katzenbach being elevated to succeed him. The FBI's wiretap on Dr. King continued until April 30, 1965, obviously with the new attorney general's approval. If Katzenbach is so upset over the tap on Dr. King now, why didn't he stop it then?

An even more interesting question looms: Bobby, Katzenbach and the rest of the Kennedy entourage used to shower extravagant praise on the late Dr. King. Bobby attended the funeral, he tended to Mrs. King and demonstrated, at least publicly, that he was King's wonderful friend. Well, maybe he was. But just what kind of a friend is it that secretly taps your telephone?

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# WALTER SCOTT'S Personality Parade

Q. Is the Governor of Ohio, Jim Rhodes, a pawn of the Mafia?—Ed Humphries, Columbus, Ohio.



A. Rhodes is no pawn, but as a governor subject to pressure from many sources, he certainly bears watching. Life magazine recently reported on the state of his finances and some of his decisions concerning a Mafia figure in jail.

Q. Is it true that Bobby Kennedy, Nick Katzenbach, and Ramsey Clark, each of them a U.S. Attorney General, could not get along with J. Edgar Hoover? What was learned from wiretapping the telephone of Martin Luther King Jr.? Did he turn out to be a Communist agent as rumored?—V.L. Lewis, Washington, D.C.

A. Kennedy, Clark, and Katzenbach found that Hoover, ostensibly under orders to the Justice Department, ran his own show. King's telephone was tapped because at one time he had dealings with a Communist lawyer. He was never, however, a Communist or a Communist agent. For the most part, the wiretaps revealed that King on occasion submitted to temptations of the flesh.

- The Washington Post Times Herald PARADE
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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 G. B. ...

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*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
 J.E. ...  
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- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
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- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

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## A Look at the Record On the King Wiretap

THE Martin Luther King Wiretap debate is the most tangled story to come out of the Washington jungle in some time. While it is manifestly impossible that everybody is telling the truth, considering the number of contradictions involved, it is only too easy to believe by now that nobody is telling the truth. What seems more probable is that nobody is telling "the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

The two most recent Attorneys General of the United States, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Robert F. Kennedy's immediate successor, and Ramsey Clark, Katzenbach's immediate successor, both have accused FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover of shamelessly selective use of FBI files in placing exclusive blame upon Mr. Kennedy for the wiretap that everybody agrees was placed on Dr. King for a period that is still in conflict.

It is true, as has been said, that neither Mr. Kennedy nor Dr. King is here to defend himself from the differing implications attached to their separate names. In Mr. Kennedy's case that he had no better judgment than to have thought at one time that Martin Luther King's loyalty might be suspect, in Dr. King's, that his loyalty was suspect.

While Dr. King could conceivably have died all unawares, it seems unlikely, and, as it happened, Mr. Kennedy shortly before his own death during the 1968 presidential primary campaign did have an opportunity to deny that he had ever authorized any such wiretap, and did deny it.

This was the original point at question when the issue was reopened early this month by FBI testimony in the draft evasion case of Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay), the report of a 1964 telephone conversation between Dr. King and Ali-Clay listened in upon at Dr. King's end of the line.

IN RESPONSE to a column written by Carl T. Rowan from accounts of the Ali-Clay appeal testimony, a spokesman for Director Hoover said that Mr. Kennedy had not only authorized the King wiretap but that it was his whole idea, quite a different dimension, indeed.

Later still, Drew Pearson, who is not known principally as an apologist for J. Edgar Hoover, reprinted portions of a column published less than two weeks before Mr. Kennedy's death that not only credited him with initiating the King wiretap, but said that the FBI opposed the idea and carried out the Attorney General's order only reluctantly.

Messrs. Katzenbach and Clark, conceding that Mr. Kennedy had authorized the tap, have specifically denied that he was the originator or that the Bureau was the reluctant party to the arrangement that it has pretended to be, Mr. Katzenbach, specifically.

"To say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy—that he was the moving force in this situation—or that he had any doubts whatsoever as to Dr. King's integrity or loyalty is false."

Mr. Clark said that it was "deceptive" for Mr. Hoover to portray the FBI as "reluctant eavesdropper" on Dr. King, and added that, in fact, the Director was always bugging him for permission to bug Dr. King.

And there we stand, with Mr. Hoover claiming "proof" in the form of a memorandum based on a conversation between Mr. Kennedy and Courtney A. Evans, then the FBI's direct liaison with the Attorney General's office. Mr. Evans, who since has left the Bureau, was unable to recall the conversation or the memorandum in a telephone interview with the Los Angeles Times, which he said didn't necessarily mean that it hadn't occurred. But in any case, he added, "I wouldn't feel you could make a judgment on the basis of one memorandum." Mr. Hoover

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 6 A

Arkansas Gazette

Little Rock, Ark

*J. N. Heiskell*  
*Edward*  
*Jeffers*

Date: 6-27-69  
Edition: AM  
Author:  
Editor: J. N. Heiskell  
Title: ARKANSAS GAZETTE

PUBLIC RELATION

Character:  
or  
Classification: 80-338-  
Submitting Office: Little

Being Investigated

100-106870

NOT RECORDED

91 AUG 7 1969

54 AUG 11 1969

refuses to make public his "proof," but President Nixon, who says he has seen it, has backed the FBI director's position in a carefully thought out answer to a reporter's question that stopped short of agreeing outright that Mr. Kennedy made the original wiretap proposal.

\* \* \*

THE BIGGEST other question is the precise cut-off date of the wiretap. Mr. Hoover says, April 30, 1965. But a statement attributed in the Clay appeal record at Houston, Tex., to the special agent originally in charge of the King tap—Robert Nichols—has the eavesdropping being continued to the day of the Negro leader's death, April 4, 1968. This is of utmost importance because— if the latter version is the true one, it would mean that the King wiretap was going on all the time that J. Edgar Hoover was vainly begging Ramsey Clark to let him start one, which would be an extraordinary exercise in duplicity even for a veteran secret police chief. Especially since Mr. Hoover, under Mr. Clark's specific orders, was supposed to be supplying periodic quarterly reports on every wiretap the FBI had in being.

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

A-12

# King Wiretapping Probe Warranted

It transpires that the telephone of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was bugged over a period of at least two years, a bit of information of scandalous implications which hit the news as a result of an investigation, utterly tangential, into the complicated affairs of Cassius Clay. The chain of events is as follows:

1) Cassius Clay appeals his conviction for refusing to serve in the army.

2) His lawyers demand that the Justice Department reveal what information against Clay they got from the tapping of his telephone.

3) Among Clay's telephone conversations were some with Dr. Martin Luther King, which conversations it turns out were overheard by the FBI not because Clay's telephone was being tapped but because King's telephone was being tapped.

4) All hell breaks loose. Yes, the FBI conceded, it is true that the telephone of MLK was being tapped. The reason for it, a spokesman said, was that the allegation had reached Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy that MLK was keeping very bad company, most specifically one individual whose complicity with the Communist movement was suspect, so that the FBI, on Kennedy's orders, tapped King's line.

★

5) That went on for two years, stretching several months after Robert Kennedy was replaced as attorney general by Nicholas Katzenbach. The FBI gave it to be understood that Katzenbach ratified Kennedy's instructions to tap King's telephone.

6) Sometime in 1965 the taps apparently stopped. It is a question to which one receives

conflicting answers of what exactly happened at that point. According to former Attorney General Ramsey Clark:

7) J. Edgar Hoover kept after him for permission to resume the tapping of King's telephone but the permission was denied.

Interesting questions: was permission denied because Ramsey Clark recoiled against Robert Kennedy's original authorization of the telephone tap? Because, surveying the fruits of two years' eavesdropping, he concluded—in disagreement with Hoover—that the findings did not justify a continuation of the tap? Were J. Edgar Hoover's personal passions involved? In 1964 Hoover denounced King in an interview with a journalist, damning him as "the most notorious liar in the country."

★

The ostensible reason for this denunciation was King's accusation against the FBI that they were not doing their duty in the South in tracking down civil rights' violations. That charge against the executive was so routine that sophisticated observers ruminated at the time that Hoover had something graver against King than merely King's use of the usual polemic against the establishment's law enforcers. What?

How then does it stand? Suppose that one gives every one of the principals the benefit of the doubt. In that case one assumes:

1) That Robert Kennedy had prima facie grounds for believing that the best interests of the internal security warranted tapping the telephone of Martin Luther King.

2) That Nicholas Katzenbach decided responsibility in 1965 that the telephone taps

had not revealed anything of sufficient value to justify the continuing violation of Martin Luther King's privacy.

3) That J. Edgar Hoover's disagreement was also responsible, i.e., that Katzenbach and Clark were not motivated by a fear of the political influence of King, and Hoover was not motivated by any desire to persecute King.

★

4) That Martin Luther King was not in fact in dalliance with enemies of the republic, nor was he planning grave internal disruptions.

Any way you add it up, what we have here is a crisis of confidence. Those who oppose Robert Kennedy from the left will rush in to say that here is posthumous evidence that Kennedy was after all a McCarthyite. Those who oppose him from the right will judge that here is evidence afresh of Kennedy's ruthlessness. Those who oppose wiretapping in principle will proclaim that here is a classical example of the wanton use of wiretapping which has resulted in losing nothing more than rumors about King's personal life.

Those who distrust Hoover will say that here is an example of his desire to use the wiretap in order to validate a bias he expressed in 1964.

Those who trust Hoover will say that here is the dispassionate public servant urging the ideologized successors of Robert Kennedy to permit the wiretapping of someone whose telephonic conversations were in fact national security business.

The crisis of confidence warrants, even at the expense of the posthumous privacy of Martin Luther King, a Congressional investigation, which should now go forward.

*P. Moore*  
*D. J. King*  
*D. W. W.*  
*H. G. S.*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) A
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 27 1969

Date \_\_\_\_\_

55 AUG 12 1969 158

100-106670-A-5-4  
NOT RECORDED  
191 AUG 11 1969  
*file 5-4*

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

# King Wiretapping Probe Warranted

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★

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Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Rm.  
Holmes  
Gandy

*W.F.B.*

The Washington Post  
Times Herald  
The Washington Daily News  
The Evening Star (Washington)  
The Sunday Star (Washington)  
Daily News (New York)  
Sunday News (New York)  
New York Post  
The New York Times  
The Sun (Baltimore)  
The Daily World  
The New Leader  
The Wall Street Journal  
The National Observer  
People's World  
Examiner (Washington)

Date \_\_\_\_\_

*File 5*

JUL 11 1969

NOT RECORDED  
191 JUL 10 1969

99

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# THE COLUMBIA RECORD

Columbia, South Carolina

JOHN A. MONTGOMERY  
Editor

H. HARRISON JENKINS  
Associate Editor

12-A

Thursday, June 26, 1969

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Enough has been written and spoken about the wiretapping of the late Martin Luther King, the orders of FBI Director Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and the position of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The affair has been put to history and future documentation.

Our conservative columnist, William F. Buckley, is dead wrong when he asserts that a Congressional inquiry is in order. It most positively is not. Informed and intelligent Congressmen realize quite well that the whole affair should be quietly dropped.

The King wiretap was brought into the foreground again (not disclosed for the first time, as Buckley believes through the Cassius Clay trial in Houston. Then, the syndicated columnist, Carl Rowan, asked that Hoover retire on the basis of the King wiretap testimony.

Rowan has served the Federal government well as ambassador to Finland and with the USA and is a usually competent observer of the national scene. Yet, at the same time, he can be like an newsman.

The simple fact is that any FBI director, or any CIA director, will be forced to take needless, supernumerary public blame without an-

swer. Occasionally, however, for the sake of these agencies, the directors must set the record straight. In this instance, Hoover was again the unfortunate victim.

The surface facts are that Robert Kennedy ordered the wiretap on King, before his death. That wiretap (in the interest of national security) was continued under Kennedy's successor, Nicholas Katzenbach.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, perhaps still smarting from the campaign chatter of President Nixon, got into the act with a denunciation of Hoover. Clark has the unfortunate habit of opening his Texas mouth, wide, when he should keep it shut.

A singular fact which should be borne in mind is that a Congressional inquiry, to be fair to all parties involved (including King, Hoover and Robert Kennedy), would also extend into the White House—bringing in both the late President John F. Kennedy and the former President, Lyndon Johnson, who has been prudently quiet on his ranch.

The memories of the Kennedys and King, the reputations of all concerned, and—above all—the nation's interests are best served by a present dismissal of chatter about the whole incident.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

12-A  
The Columbia Record  
Columbia, S. C.

Date: 6/26/69  
Edition: Metro  
Author:  
Editor: John A. Montgomery  
Title:  
**NOT RECORDED**  
August 17-1969  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Columbia  
 Being Investigated

53 JUL 18 1969

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# Why Junior doubts

## Tristram Coffin

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

If you wonder, dear parent, why junior shows puzzling doubts about the wisdom, justice and integrity of the Powers That Be, ponder these items:

- The FBI bugged, or tapped, the telephone of Dr. Martin Luther King for several years before he was murdered. The Attorney General during this period, Ramsey Clark, denied the authority was ever given, and said, "The implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat are outrageous."

- The FBI agent who testified in a Houston Federal court about the bugging, offered only the explanation that "the surveillance occurred at a time when Dr. King was attacking the Bureau for assigning Southern agents, rather than Northerners, to protect civil rights workers," according to the New York Times.

- While Vice President Agnew was still Governor, just 16 days before he left for

Washington, "signed a deed granting ownership of 176 acres of submerged land (owned by the state) to one developer at a cost of \$100 an acre," reports the Times, as well as the Baltimore Sun and AP. "The new land, subdivided into thousands of building lots, is selling now at from \$5,000 to \$7,300 a lot, with each lot a fraction of an acre." The action of the Governor was bitterly protested by wildlife and conservation fans. The state director of Inland Fish and Game in a memo had been unhappy about the destruction of "such a large area of public-owned bottom and marsh land to build privately-owned fast land for private profit to which the public will be denied access."

- The way in which Pentagon contractors grant huge profits and overruns to companies, and then, upon retirement, join the companies. Senator Symington has revealed that we spent \$23 billion dollars on missile systems which didn't work and had

to be scrapped.

- The assistant attorney general heading the Anti-Trust Division, conferred with a former law partner about a top anti-trust case in February. The ex-partner represented B.F. Goodrich Co. After the meeting, according to press reports, the department brought a civil suit to protect Goodrich from a takeover by Northwest Industries. No one, said the assistant attorney general raised questions about any "impropriety" before the press took up the issue.

- The military lied about the escape of poison gases and the killing of sheep in Utah until it was caught flat footed and could not wriggle out. Similarly, going back a few years, the Atomic Energy Commission did not tell the truth about the effects of nuclear testing in the air until state scientists found radio-active milk in Minnesota.

- The authorities became so worked up about a few long-haired kids building a park on a trash heap in Berkeley they called in police, sheriff's deputies and armed National Guardsmen to rout them and, in the process, sprayed many with heavy doses of tear gas from a helicopter. School children at recess were gassed in this great crusade for law and order.

- A Justice of the Supreme Court accepts a \$20,000 fee, and presumably for life, from a foundation controlled by a man in deep trouble with the law.

Dear parent, need we go on and on. There is something rotten, and not just in Denmark, and it is not going to be solved by beating up kids and cutting their hair. The rottenness exists in the front parlor.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 P. Miller  
 H. G. ...  
 J. ...

- Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- ly News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- day News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- v York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- ple's World \_\_\_\_\_
- aminer (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUNE 20 1969

80 AUG 12 1969

NOT RECORDED  
 191 JUL 7 1969

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 [Signature]



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# Why the King Wiretap?

It is not generally known, but the liberals are primarily responsible for the FBI wiretap controversy involving their slain heroes, Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King.

Black columnist Carl T. Rowan, close to both the Kennedys and King, touched off the fireworks in a Washington *Star* article last week, which was quickly amplified by other liberal commentators. Mr. Rowan accused FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover of flouting the law in tapping King's phone and called for his resignation.

The Rowan article was undoubtedly prompted by evidence brought forth in the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay, who is appealing a conviction of draft dodging. The U.S. Supreme Court ordered Houston Federal Judge Joseph Ingraham to hold a special hearing to determine whether illegal wiretap testimony was used to convict Clay. Judge Ingraham pronounced one recorded conversation between Clay and King as a matter of national security and refused to let it be made public.

Responding to the Rowan attack in a low-key, matter-of-fact way, Mr. Hoover pointed out that in June 1963 Senator Kennedy, who was then attorney general, not only proposed that King's phone be tapped but authorized it "in writing." Inasmuch as the attorney general is the FBI director's boss, Mr. Hoover, obviously, was only carrying out his orders.

Mr. Hoover's position on this point has become unassailable with support from President Richard Nixon and former Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach. President Nixon told his televised news conference Thursday evening that he had personally checked into the matter and "found that it (wiretapping) has always been approved by the attorney general." Mr. Katzenbach, who was brought into the government by the Kennedys, confirmed that Mr. Kennedy "personally authorized each telephone wiretap—as had his predecessors and successors. . . ."

Now that it has been established beyond all reasonable doubt that Rob-

*Hoover*

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

10

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER  
RICHMOND, VA.

*See...*

Date: 6/26/69  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: VACANT  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification: 80-4  
Submitting Office: 12H  
 Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED  
184 AUG 7 1969

57 AUG 11 1969

*file...*

art Kennedy ordered the FBI to put Martin Luther King under surveillance, the natural question arising in the public mind is: why?

The highly-respected, nationally-syndicated columnist Paul Scott last week suggested some reasons:

Summaries of the recordings (of private conversations Dr. Martin Luther King conducted), as revealed to members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee, clearly indicate that King was in direct contact with one of the most influential Communists in the U.S.

With leads obtained from their electronic eavesdropping, the FBI was able to confirm that this Kremlin agent, whose influence extended into the highest ranks of the Communist Party, USA, was one of King's ghost writers and chief advisers.

In addition to evidence gained from the King recordings, the FBI succeeded in taking several photographs of the civil rights leader meeting with this covert Communist operator at one of the major U.S. airports.

... These and other still secret details of King's activities were revealed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to members of the (House) subcommittee shortly before the civil rights leader was slain.

So alarming was the FBI's data on King that the lawmakers took the extraordinary step of briefing House Speaker John McCormack. . . .

The House Democratic leaders, all strong supporters of the late President Kennedy, were reputedly shocked at the gutter-type language King used in private conversations about the late President.

Other recordings in the FBI files dealt extensively with his private life, according to the legislators, and showed that there were two Kings—one the public knew and the other known only to his closest friends and the FBI.

Should supporters of King, pump new life into the stalled drive in Congress to create a national holiday honoring him, demands could become forthcoming from anti-King legislators that Hoover be called to testify. If that occurs, the 'Martin Luther King tapes' could become big news.

As Columnist Scott suggests, the movement to mark King's birthday as a national holiday, the Houston court hearings, and the renewed national wiretap controversy indicate that the final chapter in the Martin Luther King story is yet to be written.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Hoover Brands Negro Columnist as a 'Racist'

By VERA GLASER  
And MALVINA STEPHENSON  
Special To The Herald

WASHINGTON — FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover called Negro columnist Carl T. Rowan a "racist" Tuesday as the controversy continued over the tapping of the telephones of the slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.

In an exclusive interview, Hoover was asked who started the current ruckus, which already has involved President Nixon and three former attorneys general.

"That racist columnist, Rowan!" Hoover exploded.

It was one of the most revealing glimpses of Hoover's personal sentiments since he called King "the most notorious liar in the country" in 1964.

Hoover also declared Tues-



J. Edgar Hoover  
... defends wiretaps

day that other federal agencies had been tapping telephones "all over town for years," on their own authority, until the Johnson Administration clamped down.

IN HIS Washington Star column of June 15, Rowan accused Hoover of illegal eavesdropping, implying that Negroes were being victimized. Rowan said the taps "have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize."

He branded Hoover's long tenure as the nation's chief law enforcement officer "dangerous," and urged President Nixon to replace him immediately.

Rowan was assistant secretary of state, ambassador to Finland, and director of the U.S. Information Agency under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Until now, Hoover has made no personal comment on the feud with Rowan. His first reaction to the Rowan column came in the form of a letter to the columnist signed by his longtime aide, Clyde A. Tolson.

LATER, Hoover told a reporter about two memoranda in FBI files which he said documented his claim that Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy both suggested and authorized the wiretaps on King to detect possible "Communist" contacts.

"Without that (the memoranda) it was just my word against theirs," Hoover said Tuesday. The memoranda have never been made public. Hoover was reminded that the main question now is

who originated the idea of the King phone taps. Former Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach has accused him of prodding Kennedy into authorizing the taps.

"That's not true," Hoover asserted. This put Hoover into direct disagreement with

Katzenbach, who said last week it was "false" to say or imply that this tap was the original conception of

Robert Kennedy." Both Katzenbach and his successor Ramsey Clark, admitted however, that Kennedy authorized the tap on King's telephone on Oct. 10, 1963.

ACCORDING to Hoover, King was under electronic surveillance from early 1964 until April 30, 1965.

Clark called on Hoover last week to resign. But

Hoover, who received a strong statement of confidence from President Nixon at his last press conference, shows no sign of quitting.

Hoover described Nixon as an old and good friend. He recalled they used to vacation together in Miami during the Eisenhower Administration. Since Nixon has been president, Hoover has been a guest at the White House

and at Camp David. He said Nixon telephoned him before the press conference last week and "personally investigated" the King wiretap authorization.

Hoover said he has always been opposed to unrestricted wire tapping by federal agencies, not only in principle but because it tarnishes the FBI's image.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3A  
The MIAMI HERALD  
Miami, Florida

*P. Moore*  
*DUNN*  
Being followed  
*hlg*

Date: 6/25/69  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: George Beebe  
Title: HOOVER BRANDS ROWAN A RACIST  
Character: [MM 80 - 947]  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Miami  
 Being Investigated

REC-62  
100-106670-A  
NOT RECORDED  
191 AUG 7 1969  
ST-112  
*5-18*  
*info*

5 AUG 15 1969

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Mr. DeLoach) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Backfire

J. Edgar Hoover has been undeservedly clobbered in the past few days by people who were outraged over the revelation that Dr. Martin Luther King's telephone had been tapped by the FBI.

We were among those dismayed by the news—in our opinion, wiretaps should be used only under the most extreme cases involving national security—but we could not believe that Hoover would have done it on his own initiative. Sure enough, the assistant director of the FBI, backed up by the President of the United States, has now told us that the wiretap on Dr. King's telephone was authorized by Bobby Kennedy when he was attorney general.

Since both Dr. King and Kennedy are dead and the FBI won't discuss the case (how could it?), the reason for the tap probably never will be known. It would be folly to jump to any conclusion about King's loyalty—or Kennedy's, for that matter, who many times in public expressed his admiration for the civil rights leader.

Law enforcement officers do not have the same distaste for such investigative techniques as the ordinary person, which maybe is understandable since the ordinary person doesn't have to risk his neck catching law violators. The FBI or any other police agency doubtless would use the wiretap on the flimsiest pretext so long as they could do so legally.

This one on King's phone was legal. Kennedy signed the authorization in November 1963, and the wiretap was maintained until April 1965, when another attorney general, Nicholas Katzenbach, ordered it removed. This is the identical procedure that has been followed since 1940 when Attorney General Robert Jackson, with President Franklin Roosevelt's okay, used the wiretap for the first time to investigate national security cases.

The King wiretap had turned into powerful ammunition to use in the campaign against the aging Hoover. But this time it backfired because many of the people who dislike Hoover are also great admirers of Bobby Kennedy.

*S. M. [unclear]*  
*D. J. [unclear]*  
*[unclear]*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 6 A

Arkansas Democrat

Little Rock, Ark.

Date: 6-25-69  
 Edition: PM  
 Author: ED.  
 Editor: MARCUS R. GEORGE  
 Title: ARK DEMOCRAT  
 public relations

Character:  
 or  
 Classification: 80-31-  
 Submitting Office: Little Rock  
 Being Investigated

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 191 AUG 7 1969

*file 5/5*

54 AUG 11 1969

Memorandum

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6/25/69

FROM : T. E. Bishop

SUBJECT: VERA R. GLASER AND  
 MALVINA STEPHENSON  
 KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS REPORT  
 INTERVIEW WITH DIRECTOR

*M*

*DE*

At 9:30 p.m., 6/24/69, Bill Barton of the Associated Press, telephoned Bishop and advised that the Associated Press had learned that the above captioned women reporters, who are with Knight Newspapers, claim to have had an exclusive interview with the Director on Tuesday, June 24, 1969. He stated that the only information about the contents of the interview that he has is to the effect that Mr. Hoover informed these reporters that "that racist columnist, Rowan" started the current controversy regarding wiretapping, that Mr. Hoover allegedly stated that Government agencies, "all over town" have been wiretapping, and that they quote Mr. Hoover as stating that he did not wish to get into the wiretapping of King but that former Attorney General Kennedy ordered it. Barton wished to know if the alleged interview with Mr. Hoover was authentic and if the FBI had any comments to make concerning it.

After checking with Miss Gandy and Mr. Tolson, Bishop was advised by Mr. Hoover that we should have no comment to make concerning this matter. Accordingly, at 9:55 p.m., 6/24/69, Barton of the Associated Press was advised that the FBI had no comment to make.

Attached hereto is a copy of a United Press International (UPI) story which appeared in "The Washington Post" on June 25, 1969, reporting on the alleged interview. Efforts are presently being made to secure copies of the "Detroit Free Press" as soon as they arrive in the Washington area, inasmuch as the full report of the alleged interview is contained in that newspaper, according to the attached article.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ENCLOSURE

- Enclosures
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures
- 1 - Miss Gandy - Enclosures
- 1 - Miss Holmes - Enclosures
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones - Enclosures

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(See ADDENDUM - OVER)

CRIMINAL RESEARCH

JUL 1 1969  
 FBI (7)

ADDENDUM: 6/25/69 TEB:jo

The "Detroit Free Press" newspaper of 6/25/69 has not yet arrived in Washington. Attached is a copy of the interview as it appeared in the "Detroit Free Press," which was dictated to Bishop's Office by ASAC Nally of the Detroit Office this morning.

✓ TEB  
Dgls

- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
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- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-106670-9

**Hoover Brands  
Carl T. Rowan  
Racist Columnist**

DETROIT, June 24 (UPI)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today called Negro columnist Carl T. Rowan a racist while discussing the controversy over the tapping of the telephones of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., two Knight newspaper reporters said.

"That racist columnist, Rowan," was Hoover's response to a question on who started the current dispute, which has already involved President Nixon and three former attorneys general.

In his June 15 column, Rowan accused Hoover of illegal eavesdropping, implying that Negroes were being victimized. He branded Hoover's long tenure as FBI Director as dangerous and urged the President to replace him.

Hoover's comments were reported by two Knight newspaper reporters in the Detroit Free Press.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_ **A**
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Now York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 24 1969

ENCLOSURE

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ENCLOSURE

FBI'S HOOVER CALLS CARL ROWAN A RACIST  
Vera Glaser and Malvina Stephenson  
Knight Newspapers Special Writers

Washington: FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover called Negro columnist Carl T. Rowan a racist Tuesday while discussing the controversy over the tapping of the telephone of the slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

In an interview Hoover was asked who started the current dispute which already has involved President Nixon and 3 former Attorneys General.

"That racist columnist, Rowan!" Hoover exploded.

It was one of the most revealing glimpses of Hoover's personal sentiments since he called King "the most notorious liar in the country" in 1964. That charge, at a meeting with newswomen, rocked the Nation.

Hoover also declared Tuesday that other Federal agencies had been tapping "telephones all over town for years" on their own authority until the Johnson Administration clamped down.

In his syndicated column of June 15, Rowan accused Hoover of illegal eavesdropping, implying that Negroes were being victimized.

Rowan said the phone taps "have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize."

He branded Hoover's long tenure as the Nation's chief law enforcement officer as dangerous and urged President Nixon to replace him immediately.

Rowan was Assistant Secretary of State, Ambassador to Finland and Director of the U.S. Information Agency under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

ENCLOSURE

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ENCLOSURE

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Until now, Hoover has made no comment on the feud with Rowan which has dominated front pages in Washington for more than a week.

Hoover's fast reaction to the Rowan column came in the form of a letter signed by his long time aide, Clyde A. Tolson.

Later Hoover told a reporter about two memoranda in FBI files which he said documented his claim that Robert F. Kennedy as Attorney General both suggested and authorized the wiretaps on King to detect possible communist contacts.

"Without that (the memoranda) it was just my word against theirs," Hoover said Tuesday. The memoranda have never been made public.

Hoover also remarked that the main question now is who originated the idea of the King phone taps.

Nicholas Katzenbach, the former Attorney General, has accused Hoover of prodding Kennedy into authorizing the taps.

"That's not true," Hoover asserted. This put Hoover into direct disagreement with Katzenbach who said last week it was false to "say or imply that this tap was the original concept of Robert Kennedy."

Both Katzenbach and his successor, Ramsey Clark, admitted however, that Kennedy authorized the tap on King's telephone on October 10, 1963.

According to Hoover, King was under electronic surveillance from early 1964 until April 30, 1965.

Clark last week called for Hoover to resign. But Hoover, who received a strong statement of confidence from President Nixon at his last press conference shows no sign of quitting.

He was relaxed and friendly at the interview which was conducted in a Washington restaurant where he was having lunch.

Hoover described Mr. Nixon as an old and good friend. He recalled they used to vacation together in Miami during the Eisenhower Administration.

Since Mr. Nixon has been President, Hoover has been a guest at the White House and at Camp David.

He said Mr. Nixon telephoned him before the press conference last week, and "personally investigated" the King wiretap authorization.

Discussing his general attitude toward electronic surveillance, Hoover said he has always been opposed to unrestricted wiretapping by Federal agencies.

He said he is opposed not only in principal but also because it tarnishes the FBI's image.

This assertion also contradicted the statements of Katzenbach and Clark, who said he was constantly goading them to tap phones.

Said Hoover: "Years ago I recommended that all tapping by any agency have the approval of the Attorney General.

"I didn't want the authority. Agencies were doing it all over town. Nobody paid any attention to me on this before President Johnson.

Asked to specify the agencies, Hoover cited "the CIA, the Defense Department, the Internal Revenue Service and other intelligence agencies."

"There was so much of it going," he said, "someone would come to me and complain. Then I would check around and would find it was one of the other agencies."

REC-47

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/19/01 BY 60322 UCBAW

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Professors Assail Stand on 'Bugging'

By **LYLE DENNISTON**  
Star Staff Writer

Thirteen professors from major law schools have joined to "firmly condemn" the Justice Department's new claim of unlimited power to use secret listening devices on home-front troublemakers.

In a letter yesterday to Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell, the professors said:

"To grant such a claim would gravely threaten some of our most fundamental liberties as well as the rule of law itself."

They linked the new "bugging" policy to the still-growing controversy over FBI wiretapping of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. They asked:

"If Martin Luther King Jr., the Black Muslim Leader Elijah Muhammad and vigorous opponents of the Vietnam war are considered appropriate subjects for such gross violations of their rights, which group vigorously seeking change, whether radical, liberal or conservative, is safe?"

### Big Brother Argument

The professors labeled the department's new theory of its power "the argument that Big Brother knows best."

Justice Department lawyers spelled out the newly broadened policy on electronic surveillance in papers filed a week ago in the pending federal case against New Left demonstrators at last summer's Democratic national convention in Chicago.

Whenever the attorney general deems it necessary to monitor secretly the conversations of groups and persons who might "foment violent disorders," the department claimed, he could do so on his own authority without getting approval in a court order.

The Fourth Amendment ban on "unreasonable" searches not approved by a court simply does not apply in such situations, the department claimed in a document filed with U.S. District Court in Chicago.

Never before had the department claimed that kind of authority except when gathering "foreign intelligence" about "external threats."

### Admitted in Court

Atty. Gen. Mitchell's staff did not make this claim to power until after the department had admitted to admit in a House of Representatives report, 1969 had

carried-out extensive wiretapping and eavesdropping on Dr. King and Muhammad.

The wiretap on Dr. King has become the source of a deepening conflict between FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and two former U.S. attorneys general, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark.

Hoover has said the late Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy authorized the FBI to tap King's telephone and that it was Kennedy's original idea to do so. Both Katzenbach and Clark have said that it is "false" to attribute the proposal to Mr. Kennedy. Clark has suggested that "perhaps the time has come" for Hoover to retire.

The law professors' 800-word, strongly phrased protest to Mitchell seems likely to broaden the controversy to include current "bugging" policy in general.

Included among the 13 signers of the letter is one law dean, Louis H. Pollak of Yale. The other 12 are described as

specialists in criminal and constitutional law.

The others are: Anthony G. Amsterdam of Pennsylvania University, Vern Countryman of Harvard, Norman Dorsen of New York University, Steven B. Duke of Yale, Gerald Gunther of Stanford, Yale Kamisar and Arthur R. Miller of Michigan University, Kenneth W. Graham Jr. of UCLA, Michael S. Josephson of Wayne State (Detroit), Edmund W. Kitch of Chicago University, Herman Schwartz of New York State University (Buffalo) and Alan Westin of Columbia.

### 'Appears in Conflict'

The professors suggested that the Justice Department's claimed authority "appears to be in conflict" with last year's crime control law, which permits electronic monitoring to obtain evidence of riots, treason,

condition and subversion, but only with the advance approval of a federal court.

These are "precisely the crimes for which the department is seeking the authority to eavesdrop without judicial supervision."

Noting that, "until just a few years ago," there was little demand for "bugging" except in "the most serious offenses like espionage, treason, kidnapping and murder," the professors commented:

"We firmly condemn this attempt to obtain such absolute power against our own people in domestic affairs."

If the department's claim to power is upheld, the professors said, this would "repudiate one of our oldest and most vital traditions" — that is, having a "neutral and detached" judge pass upon police requests for search power.

They concluded by suggesting that "the government has confessed error before in the interests of justice, and we call upon it to do so again in this instance."

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 22 1969

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191 AUG 7 1969

file 5/2/69

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

### The Smear of Dr. King

The FBI and its electronic surveillance have never looked nastier than in the cumulative revelations of the spying on the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King.

Though rumors about wiretaps against Dr. King were heard long ago, the first real evidence came in a Houston hearing for Cassius Clay. There, FBI agents testified that they "listened in" on Dr. King for several years. One FBI official said later that this was a national security case, but that stretches an elastic excuse beyond the point of credibility.

Who authorized the FBI work? J. Edgar Hoover has said that the authority came from the late Robert Kennedy when he was Attorney General, and President Nixon at his press conference supported Mr. Hoover. But is this the whole truth? Nicholas Katzenbach, who followed Mr. Kennedy as Attorney General, says it is false to state that the latter was the moving force in the bugging. Ramsey Clark, who followed Mr. Katzenbach, says the Hoover story is unfair and deceptive, and that the FBI chief repeatedly asked him to continue wiretaps on Dr. King. Mr. Clark refused.

The worst of the story, though, is the evidence that the FBI snooped in a deliberate effort to discredit Dr. King. First, the agency asked for snoop power after Dr. King had criticized some of its work in the South. Second, newspapermen shortly thereafter were treated, if that is the word, to FBI rumors about the private life of Dr. King. This was not law enforcement: this was smear.

The King case is a frightening example of how political police can misuse their powers with the help of electronic gadgetry and huge files. Ramsey Clark deserves a high place among Attorneys General for his solitary efforts to call a halt to the spreading dragnet.

Yet, Attorney General Mitchell now says he intends to use fully the new federal law allowing wiretaps on court orders. Even beyond that, his department told a federal court in Chicago that it had power to eavesdrop on anti-war activities without court approval. The King case ought to be enough to caution the Administration against making this a snooped-upon nation. The King case ought to be enough to turn any ordinary citizen's stomach.

*P. Moore*  
*D. J. [unclear]*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2B St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
St. Louis, Mo.

Date: 6-22-69

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

PULITZER PUBLISHING COMPANY

Character:

or

Classification: 100

Submitting Office: SLMO

Being Investigated

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*FILE 15-4C*

60 AUG 11 1969

# CLARK SUGGESTS THAT HOOVER QUIT

## Comments in Controversy on Dr. King Wiretapping

By JOHN HARRERS  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 20—Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark suggested today that J. Edgar Hoover retire as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"I think, perhaps, the time has come when he should retire, both in the interests of his own career, which has been distinguished, and in the interests of the F.B.I., which has been a great investigative agency," Mr. Clark said in an interview with the Columbia Broadcasting System.

His suggestion was the latest in a continuing controversy involving the wiretapping of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Mr. Hoover said that Robert F. Kennedy initiated the wiretap when he was Attorney General. Mr. Clark and his immediate predecessor as Attorney General, Nicholas deB Katzenbach, labeled Mr. Hoover's statements misleading.

### President's View

President Nixon seemed in his news conference last night to be siding with Mr. Hoover when he said he had checked and found that the Attorney General had approved the wiretap.

This, however, was not disputed. At issue was who initiated the wiretap and why.

The background of the current dispute is as follows:

In 1963, Dr. King's Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference was at the forefront of the civil rights fight. Widely circulated reports that the conference was involved with persons of Communist background caused concern among white liberals supporting Dr. King's efforts.

In July of that year, The Atlanta Constitution carried an article saying that Jack H. O'Dell of New York, who had been reported by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities to have been linked with Communist activity, was a member of Dr. King's staff.

Dr. King said Mr. O'Dell had left the organization on June 26. He acknowledged that

O'Dell "may have had some connections in the past" with Communism but he was convinced that Mr. O'Dell had renounced them.

The Justice Department was then allied with Dr. King's organization in a number of efforts to break down segregation, and it was known that there was concern within the department about the involvement of persons in the civil rights movement with Communist background.

### Broad National Support

Dr. King's efforts then had broad national support. Liberals who backed the efforts financially believed that it would be at least a tactical mistake to permit the infiltration into the movement of any elements that could be branded anti-American.

The movement and its leaders were reportedly kept under constant surveillance by the F.B.I., both for their protection from white militants, and because of the bureau's concern with Communist subversion. In his travels through the south, Dr. King had as many as six agents trailing him.

In a celebrated news conference in November of 1964, Mr. Hoover called Dr. King "the most notorious liar in the country" for saying that F.B.I. agents in Albany, Ga., had failed to act on the civil rights complaints of Negroes.

In 1965, white conservatives began making public statements that the bureau had secret information on Dr. King that could be damaging. The bureau would say nothing publicly about these statements.

They were never denied nor confirmed.

In December of 1966, Mr. Hoover and Mr. Kennedy, then a Senator from New York, engaged in a widely publicized dispute over the bureau's eavesdropping activities. Senator Kennedy said that he had not been aware of all of the bureau's electronic surveillance. Mr. Hoover replied that was "absolutely inconceivable."

### Wiretapping Disclosed

Last June 4, it was disclosed in a hearing in Houston on an appeal by Cassius Clay, the former heavyweight boxing champion, from his conviction for refusing to be drafted that the F.B.I. had tapped Dr. King's telephone calls.

Later, after Carl T. Rowan, the columnist, criticized Mr. Hoover in connection with the King wiretapping, the F.B.I. released a letter to Mr. Rowan from Clyde A. Tolson, associate director, saying that the wiretap was "specially approved in advance in writing by the late Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy" and was done "strictly in the field of internal security."

Yesterday, Mr. Hoover said in a rare newspaper interview, with The Washington Star, that he had memorandums by Courtney Evans, then assistant bureau director and liaison officer with the Justice Department, showing Mr. Kennedy to be the initiator.

In June of 1963, Mr. Hoover said the Evans memorandums showed, Mr. Kennedy said he was concerned about reports that Dr. King had Marxist leanings—Dr. King consistently denied this charge—and wanted to know if it was feasible to use electronic devices to prove or disprove the allegations, specifically to check on Dr. King's reported dealings with a New York lawyer with Communist connections.

### Difficulty Cited

Mr. Evans's reply, Mr. Hoover said, was that it would be difficult to tap Dr. King's lines because of his constant travels.

But in the following October the bureau advised Mr. Kennedy that it was feasible to tap the line of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, and this was done, according to Mr. Hoover's reading of Mr. Evans's memorandums.

The wiretap was discontinued on April 30, 1965, several months after Mr. Katzenbach succeeded Mr. Kennedy as Attorney General, Mr. Hoover told The Star.

Mr. Clark, who was in the Justice Department all this time and succeeded Mr. Katzenbach in 1967, said Mr. Hoover was being deceptive in portraying the F.B.I. as the reluctant spy on Dr. King.

"Mr. Hoover repeatedly requested me to authorize F.B.I. wiretaps on Dr. King while I was Attorney General," he said. "The last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King [on April 4, 1968]."

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
D. Moore  
G. Bass

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 21 1968

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CARE T. ROWAN P-13

# FBI Won't Talk

## About Additional Wiretappings

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has refused to say whether it has ever tapped the telephones of any members of Congress as part of its job of "protecting internal security."

Clyde A. Tolson, the FBI associate director who disclosed in a letter to me that the telephones of the late Dr. Martin Luther King was tapped "strictly in the field of internal security," has also refused to say whether the FBI has tapped the telephones or bugged the homes of other civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or James Farmer, formerly of the Committee on Racial Equality and now an assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

In a curt exchange of letters with this reporter, Tolson takes the view that in revealing that the wiretap on King was authorized by the late Robert F. Kennedy, the FBI's purpose has "been accomplished" and "there is no need to continue this correspondence."

Thus the FBI seeks to evade the thrust of my recent column that Tolson labeled "scurrilous" by resting its case on an assortment of allegations against two dead men who cannot talk back.

First, in an all-out effort to protect the reputation of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI has alleged that the wiretap on King was both suggested and approved by the late Senator Kennedy.

A check of records I kept on the King affair during my government days, including discussions of the matter with FBI officials, suggests that Kennedy did approve the wiretap, but that the FBI lies in stating that it was Kennedy's idea originally.

A significant point that was central to my column has been obscured by the "Hoover or Kennedy?" controversy. That is my point that the FBI can, does and will tap the phone or bug the dwelling of just about any American in the name of "internal security."

Rather than meet this point, the FBI wants the wiretap-

ping-bugging controversy to focus on King because it possesses tape recordings and photographs that it thinks will blacken King's reputation.

(Tolson has carefully neglected to comment on my report that for years the FBI has had a small army of agents and allies roaming the country whispering the dirt about King.)

FBI strategy is based on the assumption that some of the public already hates King, others automatically despise heroes who turn out to have feet of clay, and still others are quick to adopt a holier-than-thou posture and throw the first stone. The assumption seems to be that if the FBI leaks enough degrading details about King the American people will forget the central charge in my column that the FBI found so wounding it finally decided to tell the American people part of the truth.

That charge, I repeat, is that we are a lot closer to becoming a police state than most Americans realize. Nothing illustrates this more than the current FBI campaign.

But the issue is not whether King was a saint—and perhaps this is the time for me to reveal that I have read the FBI reports based on electronic surveillance of the late Nobel prize-winner. I know how much dirt the FBI has dug up, and 99 percent of it is barnyard gossip that has nothing to do with "internal security" or "Marxist influences."

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 20 1969  
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The question is: Should a federal police-investigative agency be permitted to tap an American's telephone, bug his home, sneak electronic devices into his hotel rooms, just because someone in the Justice Department (Hoover, Kennedy or whoever) thinks he has "Communist associates"? Ought not there be the safeguard of some court concluding that some "Clear

and present danger" justified such an invasion of a free man's privacy?

Was there a "clear and present danger" that King would endanger the nation's security. If so, why did the danger disappear on April 30, 1965, when the FBI claims it discontinued the wiretap? King was seeing the same "dangerous" people for almost three years after that.

The answer is that certain buggings and other surveillance of King did not end in April 1965. As a top government official, I read FBI surveillance reports on King long after the date when Hoover says the wiretaps were ended.

The answer is that the FBI will not admit to this later surveillance because it cannot claim that it was authorized by Attorneys General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark, both of whom are alive, to defend themselves.

There is a fundamental point about the King affair that is valid no matter who authorized the wiretap and buggings. If the FBI had information that King was an enemy of and menace to his country, we have courts and other proper channels in which to make whatever charges the FBI felt it could prove. This affords the accused a chance to face his accuser, to reply.

But the most frightful aspect of this whole business is to have FBI officials waging a campaign to destroy a man by rumor, by stealth, by whispers, by stealth, by flashing dirty pictures in smoke-filled bars.

These are the legal and moral issues that the American public must face. And we must not be blinded to the reality by a sly campaign to make the late Robert F. Kennedy and the late Martin Luther King the villains.

Nelson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach  \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Bishop *MB* \_\_\_\_\_  
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Wiretap Policy

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, in declaring with some heat that it was authorized by the late Robert F. Kennedy to tap the telephone of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., has responded to only part of the question raised over wiretapping policy by this incident. As Oswald Johnston reported in a dispatch from our Washington bureau, it was charged that the tap was continued several years after Kennedy resigned as Attorney General and in disregard of orders to remove it. But Mr. Johnston noted that the FBI and the Justice Department did not deal with this point and did not disclose when the tap was discontinued. This is a pertinent matter, in view of statements made against the practice of wiretapping by former President Johnson and former Attorney General Clark. The King case could be better understood, perhaps, if the FBI's indignation could be matched by its candor.

*e. D. Callahan*  
*ROBERTS*  
  
*B. C. Moore*  
*D. J. [unclear]*  
*Chiles*

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- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) A-12
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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UPI-26

(KING WIRETAPS)  
 WASHINGTON--FORMER ATTY. GEN. NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH HAS ATTACKED AS "FALSE" ANY ALLEGATION ROBERT F. KENNEDY DOUBTED THE LOYALTY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING.

KATZENBACH'S COMMENTS WERE PROMPTED BY A COPYRIGHTED INTERVIEW WITH FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER IN YESTERDAY'S EDITIONS OF THE WASHINGTON STAR. IN THE ARTICLE HOOVER SAID KENNEDY WHEN HE WAS ATTORNEY GENERAL, WAS CONCERNED ABOUT ALLEGATIONS KING HAD MARXIST LEANINGS.

THIS CONCERN LED KENNEDY TO PROPOSE AND LATER ORDER A WIRETAP ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER'S TELEPHONES, HOOVER WAS QUOTED AS SAYING. KATZENBACH, WHO SUCCEEDED KENNEDY AS ATTORNEY GENERAL, ISSUED A STATEMENT ADMITTING ALL WIRETAPS WERE AUTHORIZED PERSONALLY BY KENNEDY, AS IS THE CASE WITH EVERY ATTORNEY GENERAL.

"BUT TO SAY OR IMPLY THAT THIS TAP WAS THE ORIGINAL CONCEPTION OF ROBERT KENNEDY -- THAT HE WAS THE MOVING FORCE IN THIS SITUATION -- OR THAT HE HAD ANY DOUBT WHATSOEVER ABOUT DR. KING'S INTEGRITY OR LOYALTY IS FALSE.

"IT IS UNWORTHY OF THE TRADITION OF THE FBI TO ATTACK IN THIS FASHION THE REPUTATION OF TWO MEN WHO CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES," KATZENBACH SAID.

FORMER ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY CLARK, LIKE KATZENBACH A DEMOCRAT, ALSO CRITICIZED HOOVER'S COMMENTS AS "UNFAIR AND DECEPTIVE."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

# Katzenbach Disputes FBI On King Tap

Former Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach charged last night that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's account of why Dr. Martin Luther King's phone was tapped is false.

Katzenbach acknowledged that the wiretap was "personally authorized" by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

"But to say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy... is false," Katzenbach said.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark said in a statement that Hoover's account was unfair "because it comes after Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been murdered in the service of humanity and are unable to defend themselves." Clark also said the "selected materials from FBI files" released by Hoover were "deceptive in depicting Mr. Hoover as a reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King. He (Hoover) repeatedly requested me to authorize a FBI wiretap on Dr. King while I was Attorney General. The last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."

Other sources who held high positions in the Justice Department under Kennedy said the Attorney General approved the tap on Dr. King only after the FBI had urged him to "over and over and over again" for two years because the FBI believed Dr. King was either a Communist or a tool of the Communist Party.

Kennedy's defenders spoke after President Nixon strongly supported Hoover.

Mr. Nixon told his press conference last night that his personal check had found that bugging "had always been approved by the Attorney General, as Mr. Hoover testified in 1964 and 1965."

The President made it clear that the recent disclosure of the King wiretapping and the controversy over who wanted it — Hoover or Kennedy — led him to look into the controversy personally.

Katzenbach, issuing a statement in New York, said that: "It is unworthy of the tradition of the FBI to attack in this fashion the reputation of two men who cannot defend themselves."

During Kennedy's first two weeks as Attorney General in early 1961, the other sources said, the FBI came to Kennedy and said that Dr. King was deeply involved with two members of the Communist Party.

FBI representatives repeated their charges frequently during the next two years, these sources, who held positions at assistant secretary level or above, said.

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*J. Edgar Hoover*

*DDDD*  
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- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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In the fall of 1963, Kennedy agreed to place a tap on King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference phone to verify or disprove the FBI allegations, the sources said.

The version of the incident that Hoover has made public is very similar—except that his account attributes the fears that Dr. King was a Marxist to Kennedy.

Hoover told the Evening Star yesterday that Kennedy proposed tapping King's phone to discover if the civil rights leader was closely associated with Marxist ideas and had Marxist followers.

Hoover reportedly showed the Star two memoranda from 1963. The first, written

by then assistant director of the FBI and liaison man with the Justice Department Courtney Evans, reported a conversation between Evans and Kennedy in which the Attorney General reportedly inquired whether tapping King's phone was feasible.

The second was Hoover's request for the wiretapping authorization; it bore Kennedy's signature and the date "10-10-63" in the lower left-hand corner.

An FBI spokesman made clear in response to questions that Hoover would not talk to the Washington Post. The spokesman said the Star story "speaks for itself" and would not comment further.

Evans, now in private law

practice here, was reported to be en route to Puerto Rico and could not be reached.

The wiretapping of Dr. King's phone was disclosed during Cassius Clay's draft evasion hearing in Houston and has caused angry debate over the role of the FBI, a bureau of the Justice Department.

"I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without authority of the Attorney General," the Star quoted Hoover as saying. He said the King wiretap was stopped April 30, 1965—two months before former President Johnson issued an order banning the practice except in national security investigations.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Sylvan Meyer

## King wiretap story unfinished

Confirmation that the FBI put a wiretap on the late Dr. Martin Luther King, with Robert Kennedy's approval, produced one of those news stories that is literally true, in that the facts so far disclosed are true.

However, the news stories are not true in essence, because all the facts either haven't been told or have not been put into historical perspective.



The FBI said that the "surveillance" of MEYER Dr. King was authorized by Bobby Kennedy when he was attorney general. At that time, the attorney general could authorize a wire tap but not the use of electronic devices. The mood of those days in our history must be considered. Conservatives, including FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover himself, were charging that that civil rights movement was shot through with Communists. Dr. King had been accused of "helping" the Communists with his civil rights activities.

Kennedy was put on the spot by the FBI request for authority to eavesdrop on Dr. King. If he refused the authority, he would have been vulnerable to the accusation that he would not allow the FBI even to check into possible Communist influence in the civil rights area. And in the early 1960s, the issue of reds and rights flared hotly.

The FBI said it wanted to see if Reds had infiltrated the movement. Kennedy could not block an investigation in the political context of those days.

The wire tap went on Dr. King in October or November of 1963. A few weeks after the eavesdropping started, President John Kennedy was assassinated. Obviously, Robert Kennedy immediately became involved in matters far more immediate and pressing than the wiretap.

The FBI continued the tap on Dr. King, according to an agent in Atlanta, until about May 1965, long after Kennedy resigned as attorney general.

Certainly, Bobby Kennedy did not suspect Dr. King of consorting with Communists or that the security of the nation was endangered by the Negro leader's activities. However, to balance the picture all around, such leaders as Dr. King did endure and win struggles within their organizations to eliminate suspect influences.

To close the dates on the phone tap, Attorney General Katzenbach ordered the tap removed in the spring of 1965.

Now the major question, of course, arises on the issue of the findings, if any, the FBI gleaned from this long and expensive bugging.

The FBI declines comment on this subject. The FBI's public information chief told me yesterday by phone that "we can't disclose anything on that; it is not ordinarily done." He explained that the recent revelation of wire tap conversations on a Mafia headquarters in New Jersey came about because of a court order in response to a defense attorney's plea.

Regardless, it should be reported that there were no results achieved from the surveillance and that Dr. King was never regarded as a security risk, neither as a result of the bugging evidence nor any other findings.

There were several men in the Justice Department during those difficult days who were both staff members and close friends of Kennedy's. So far, they have been silent on this matter. After all, they aren't official spokesmen any more and they are reluctant to enter an arena in which the contest, except for the sake of historical accuracy, is moot.

I hope some of them will come forward with a definitive statement, however. The very act of wire tapping has a negative implication; the suggestion that Robert Kennedy concurred in a suspicion of Dr. King should be authoritatively denied; and the capricious nature of the whole business of official eavesdropping on the basis of mere suspicion could use the exposure.

Sylvan Meyer's column appears in this space on Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

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A. Tolson  
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J. Edgar Hoover  
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The MIAMI NEWS

Miami, Florida

Being followed

Date: 6/20/69  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: Sylvan Meyer  
Title: FBI AND KING WIRETAP STORY  
Character: [MM 80 - 947]  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Miami

Being Investigated

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**NIXON SUPPORTS  
FBI ON KING TAP**

**But 2 Ex-Attorneys General  
Call Hoover Claim Unfair**

By OSWALD JOHNSTON  
(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, June 19—President Nixon threw the full prestige of his office tonight behind the FBI claim that the late Robert F. Kennedy was responsible for the government wiretap on The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Almost simultaneously, two former attorneys general under the Johnson administration attacked as "false," "unfair" and "deceptive" the claim of J. Edgar Hoover that Mr. Kennedy recommended the tap.

Mr. Nixon, speaking on nationwide television, told a news conference that the FBI director "does enjoy my complete confidence."

He added that he had "checked personally into the matter" of responsibility for the wiretap placed on Dr. King during the last years of his life.

"I found that it had always been approved by the attorney general, as Mr. Hoover testified in 1964 and 1965," the President said. He apparently referred to testimony before Congress which Justice Department spokesmen cited earlier when asked to comment on the controversy over the King surveillance.

Sharp criticism of the Hoover version of events was voiced by Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Mr. Kennedy's successor as Attorney General, and Ramsey Clark, who took over command of the Justice Department in October, 1966.

Both spoke in bitter terms of Mr. Hoover's claim today that Mr. Kennedy instigated the tap on Dr. King because he suspected him of having "Marxist" sympathies.

"It is unworthy of the tradition of the FBI to attack in this fashion the reputations of two men who cannot defend themselves."

Mr. Katzenbach said. To portray Mr. Kennedy as an instigator is "false," he charges.

Mr. Clark termed the Hoover claim "deceptive in depicting Mr. Hoover as a reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King. He repeatedly requested me to authorize FBI wiretaps on Dr. King while I was Attorney General."

**2 Days Before Murder**

He added: "the last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."

Mr. Nixon's news conference vote of confidence was the first formal administration response to the FBI assertion that Mr. Kennedy not only approved the King tap but also recommended it.

The claim that Mr. Kennedy approved it was made yesterday by one of Mr. Hoover's top aides. The claim that Mr. Kennedy originated the idea was made by Mr. Hoover himself, in a copyrighted interview published today in the Washington Star.

**Views On Eavesdropping**

Mr. Nixon coupled his backing of the 74-year-old FBI director with a statement of his administration's view of electronic eavesdropping as an instrument of government.

"As far as this administration is concerned," he said, "our attitude toward electronic surveillance is that it should be used very sparingly, very carefully, having in mind the rights of those who might be involved."

"But," he added, "very effectively to protect the internal and external security of the United States."

**Authority Claimed**

Last Friday the Justice Department claimed the government has authority under the Constitution to eavesdrop on any organization it deems "subversive."

Speaking with the full backing of John N. Mitchell, the Attorney General, department lawyers claimed that this board power to tap telephones or plant bugs could be exercised without judicial warrant.

They suggested further that evidence gathered in this way could be used in court.

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*Pearl*  
*Liggins*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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The current controversy over wiretapping and bugging has been simmering since an FBI agent disclosed in a Houston courtroom three weeks ago that Dr. King's home telephone in Atlanta was tapped during 1964 and 1965.

#### May Have Continued

The agent, Robert Nichols, conceded under sharp questioning by a civil rights lawyer that the surveillance may have continued after he was taken off the assignment in May, 1965.

Some observers took this to mean that the surveillance continued up until Dr. King's assassination April 4, 1968.

An FBI spokesman said today, however, that the tap was ordered off April 30, 1965. Mr. Hoover cited the same date in his *Star* interview, and added, "I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without written authority of the Attorney General."

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- Holmes
- Gandy

Backs Hoover on Bug

# Nixon Joins Tap Dispute

By RICHARD STARNES  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

President Nixon, voicing his "complete confidence" in FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, has disclosed that an investigation convinced him that Mr. Hoover "always" had obtained approval of the attorney general for any FBI wiretapping operations.

The President stepped into the controversy over wiretaps of the phones of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., at his news conference last night.

His statement followed Mr. Hoover's disclosure earlier in the day that the wiretaps on Dr. King's phones not only had been authorized — but had been proposed originally — by the late Robert F. Kennedy when he was attorney general.

Mr. Hoover said Robert Kennedy had authorized the tapping of Dr. King's phones despite an FBI warning that the action might have possible political repercussions.

The account by Mr. Hoover was disputed in New York City by Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, who followed Mr. Kennedy as attorney general and remained his close friend. Acknowledging that Mr. Kennedy authorized the tap, Mr. Katzenbach declared:

"To suggest or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy — that he was the moving force in this situation — or that he had any doubt whatsoever about Dr. King's integrity or loyalty is false.

"It is unworthy of the tradition of the FBI to attack in this fashion the reputation of two men who cannot defend themselves," he said.

Former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark also criticized Mr. Hoover's comments as "unfair and deceptive."

Mr. Clark said Mr. Hoover was wrong to picture himself as a "reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King," and he said Mr. Hoover "repeatedly requested to authorize an FBI wiretap on Dr. King while I was attorney general. The last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."

Mr. Nixon said the position of his Administration on such wiretaps was that they should be used "very sparingly" when necessary "to protect the internal and external security of the United States."

The new revelations in the controversy over the wiretaps came in the wake of a columnist's assertion that the Justice Department had not authorized the electronic "bugs," implying that they had been ordered improperly — and possibly illegally — by Mr. Hoover.

This drew an angry blast from FBI Associate Director Clyde A. Tolson, who wrote columnist Carl Rowan defending the legality of the taps.

"The wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by

the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy," Mr. Tolson wrote. The surveillance, he added, was "strictly in the field of internal security and therefore was within the provision laid down by the President of the United States."

Yesterday Mr. Hoover contributed the information that Mr. Kennedy himself had first proposed monitoring the Negro evangelist's phones in June, 1963, and had approved the installation in a memorandum dated the following October.

Mr. Hoover disclosed that the earlier memorandum expressed Mr. Kennedy's concern that the civil rights movement was being infiltrated by Marxists, and noted reports that Dr. King was closely associated with Marxist-leaning followers.

The FBI memorandum was written by Courtney Evans, who was then an FBI assistant director in charge of liaison with the Justice Department. It reported to Mr. Hoover on a conversation Mr. Evans had just concluded with Mr. Kennedy, in which Mr. Kennedy had asked whether it was feasible to install a tap on Dr. King's phones.

Mr. Evans' memo related that he had replied to Mr. Kennedy that such an undertaking would be quite difficult, because Dr. King travelled almost constantly. Other FBI officials, according to Mr. Hoover, warned the then attorney general that tapping the Negro civil rights leader's phones could bring political repercussions.

The October memorandum, in which Mr. Hoover reported to Mr. Kennedy that the taps were now technically feasible, sought approval for the installations. It was dated Oct. 7, 1963. The memo was counter-signed, "Robert F. Kennedy, 10-10-63."

Taps were installed in Dr. King's home in Atlanta and at an undisclosed location in New York City sometime later. They were discontinued on April 30, 1965, after Mr. Katzenbach had succeeded Mr. Kennedy as attorney general.

The controversy first flowered when Robert F. Kennedy became a senator from New York, and he and Mr. Hoover exchanged barbs over who was responsible for electronic eavesdropping.

It appeared to have been laid to rest for good with Mr. Hoover's final word yesterday: "I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without written authority of the attorney general."

The relationship between the Kennedy family and Dr. King was a long-standing one. During the 1960 election campaign, John F. Kennedy initiated Dr. King's release from a jail where he had been imprisoned for civil rights activities. The event, at the time, was viewed as having helped the elder Kennedy win Negro support in his election victory over Mr. Nixon.

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C. de B. Katzenbach  
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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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JUN 20 1969

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- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Tapping of Dr. King

## Nixon backs Hoover

By William J. Eaton  
Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Nixon has come to the defense of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a controversy involving the late Robert F. Kennedy and a wiretap aimed at the late Martin Luther King Jr.

Mr. Nixon bolstered Hoover's assertion that Kennedy, who was attorney general when the tap was started in 1963, had approved the FBI's eavesdropping to check reports of Dr. King's associations with Communist Party officials.

A NEWSMAN said at Mr. Nixon's press conference Thursday night that at least one newspaper has called for the resignation of the 74-year-old Hoover and asked if the President had complete confidence in the FBI chief.

"Mr. Hoover does enjoy my complete confidence and there has been no discussion so far as his future is concerned," the President began.

He said that his own check had shown that Hoover was correct in insisting that each wiretap used by the FBI had been approved by the attorney general.

It will be his administration's policy to use electronic surveillance "very sparingly, very carefully . . . but very effectively" to protect national security, Mr. Nixon said.

BEFORE the President's comments, Hoover had told the Washington Star that Kennedy proposed the wiretapping of Dr. King because of concern over his possible Marxist ties.

Former associates of Kennedy said he approved the tap at the FBI's suggestion, in an effort to clear Dr. King from

charges of communist sympathies that were being in Congress to undermine support for federal civil rights legislation.

"There's no question that Bob (Kennedy) did not regard Martin Luther King as a security risk," said a former aide of the late senator who asked not to be identified.

And Nicholas Katzenbach, who succeeded Kennedy as attorney general, said that "to say or imply that he (Kennedy) had any doubt whatsoever about Dr. King's integrity or loyalty is false."

The Washington Star's copyrighted story said Kennedy signed an FBI memo, indicating approval, that said it was possible to apply taps to Dr. King's telephones at headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta and at an unnamed location in New York City. The document was dated Oct. 10, 1963.

HOOVER also apparently showed the Star reporter a memo dated June, 1963, that was written by Courtney Evans, a former FBI official who was a go-between for Kennedy and Hoover.

Evans said in the memo that Kennedy was concerned about allegations that Dr. King was a student of Marxism and asso-

ciated with a New York attorney who was close to Communist Party leaders. The memo indicated that Kennedy wanted to know if it were technically possible to use electronic devices to prove or disprove the reports.

Kennedy's former associate, who once was a Justice Department official, disputed the Hoover report. He said "all the impetus came from the FBI" and it was "unmanly"

for the FBI director to shift the blame to someone who could not reply.

Former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark said Thursday that Hoover was wrong to picture himself as "a reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King." Hoover repeatedly asked his permission to tap Dr. King's conversation, Clark said, the last request coming two days before Dr. King was slain.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

CHICAGO DAILY

CHICAGO, ILLINO

Date: 6-30-69

Edition: BLUE SKY

Author: WILLIAM J. EATON

Editor: ROY M. FISHER

Title: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Character: 3-35356

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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# Controversy Widens Over King Wiretap

By LYLE DENNISTON  
 Star Staff Writer

Two former U.S. attorneys general, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and President Nixon have all entered the growing controversy over federal wiretapping on the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The new issue that last night divided Hoover and former Attorneys General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark is whether the tap on King's telephone was the original idea of the late Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

President Nixon, apparently rejecting the advice of a key aide, also stepped into the dispute to declare "complete confidence" in Hoover.

In addition, the President volunteered that he had "personally checked," and had found that Hoover was correct in saying that no wiretaps were ever used without an attorney general's authority.

The issue, however, has become the question of who originated the idea.

Hoover told The Evening Star yesterday that the FBI has in its files a June 1963 memorandum which—according to Hoover—showed that Kennedy had asked about the feasibility of using electronic devices to monitor King.

### Counterattack

Hoover revealed the contents of two memorandums, in one of which he said Kennedy expressed concern about possible Marxist involvement with the late Negro leader.

Katzenbach, who was Kennedy's top aide, issued a statement last night saying that it is "false" to "say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy."

Clark issued a separate statement describing Hoover's comments as "unfair and deceptive."

Neither Katzenbach nor Clark disputed the suggestion that Kennedy had given the FBI permission to install the wiretap on King's telephone. Katzenbach said flatly that "there has never been an issue as to the fact that . . . Kennedy personally authorized each telephone wiretap -- as had his predecessors and successors."

This had been the issue earlier this week, and it was the only issue on which the President commented at his press conference.

On Monday, Hoover's associate director, Clyde A. Tolson, said in a letter to Star columnist Carl T. Rowan that the device on King's telephone had been approved in writing in advance by Kennedy.

Yesterday, in another letter to Rowan, Tolson said that he had written to the columnist to "refute" a column in last Sunday's Star criticizing Hoover over the wiretapping incident. His Monday letter, Tolson said, had been written because of "your unwarranted charge that the wiretap . . . was unauthorized and illegal."

Having given his reply, the associate director said, "there is no need to continue this correspondence." This apparently amounted to a refusal to answer a series of other questions about wiretapping which Rowan had submitted to Tolson this week.

Appearing on television last night, Rowan said he had asked Tolson "how many other civil rights leaders" had been the subject of FBI wiretapping — specifically James F. Farmer, Floyd McKissick, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

The question of whether an attorney general gave the FBI authority to install any wiretaps, on King or anyone else, has come up in recent years when the legality of electronic surveillance was contested in court.

For years, every administration has followed the practice that a "national security" wiretap is legal if it has been expressly authorized by the attorney general.

Tolson's letter Monday said the device used on King's telephone was used only for "national security" purposes.

But Hoover's discussion on the King wiretap with The Star yesterday switched the central question in the controversy away from the legality of the monitoring.

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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
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He discussed with Star representatives two memorandums he said the FBI had in its possession. The first of these, Hoover said, was a memo to him from Courtney A. Evans, who in 1963 was assistant director of the FBI and was the bureau's liaison man with Kennedy.

The Evans memo, Hoover said, reported on a conversation between Kennedy and Evans in which the attorney general was said to have asked about the technical feasibility of monitoring King.

The FBI chief said the Evans' memo related that Kennedy was concerned about reports that King had ties with a New York attorney with "known Communist connections," that King was a student of Marxism, but that he did not openly espouse Marxism because of his religious beliefs.

The purpose of the inquiry about electronic surveillance, Hoover's comments indicated, was to prove or disprove these reports.

Hoover also discussed a second document, in which the director said he advised Kennedy that it was technically feasible to apply wiretaps to King's telephones at two places — one on King's phones in Atlanta, Ga., and the other at an unnamed location in New York City. This memo, Hoover said, was dated Oct. 7, 1963, and contained Kennedy's signature and the date Oct. 10, 1963, at the bottom.

As a result of the October document, Hoover indicated, a wiretap was installed on King's telephone.

Former Atty. Gen. Katzenbach, who was Kennedy's deputy at the time, directly challenged Hoover's interpretation of the June 1963 memo. It was his first public attack on Hoover or the FBI.

"To say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy — that he was the moving force in this situation — or that he had any doubts whatsoever as to Dr. King's loyalty or integrity is false."

"It is unworthy of the tradition of the FBI to attack in this fashion the reputation of two men who cannot defend themselves.

"Truth is seldom found in selective and partial disclosures of this type. What has been said is unfair to Sen. Kennedy and Dr. King, by no standard that I know consonant with that integrity and sense of justice which has

always heretofore been the contribution of Mr. Hoover to the administration of American justice."

Former Atty. Gen. Clark's separate statement echoed these remarks. He described Hoover's statement to The Star as "unfair because it comes after Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been murdered in the service of humanity and are unable to defend themselves.

"The truth of the matter cannot be denied through release of selected materials from FBI files."

Clark added that he thought Hoover's statement is deceptive in depicting Mr. Hoover as a reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King. He repeatedly requested me to authorize FBI wiretaps on Dr. King while I was attorney general. The last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."

The other person named in Hoover's comments—Courtney Evans, now a Washington attorney—was in San Juan, Puerto Rico, today, and was not answering his hotel telephone.

President Nixon's entry into the dispute came before the Katzenbach and Clark statements had become available.

A reporter at the White House press conference asked whether, in the aftermath of the wiretapping controversy, Hoover still had Nixon's confidence and whether any decision had been made "concerning his tenure."

Nixon replied that the director "does enjoy my complete confidence, and there has been no discussion with regard to his tenure as far as the future is concerned."

Hoover is past retirement age, but presidents have continued to grant him continuations in office, from year to year.

Nixon did not stop with a direct answer to the reporter's question.

"I should add further that with regard to the controversy on electronic surveillance that I checked personally into the matter as to whether or not that surveillance which had been discussed had been conducted by him and the FBI, by themselves, or whether it had, as is supposed to be the case always, been approved by the attorney general.

"I found that it had always been approved by the attorney general, as Mr. Hoover testified in 1964 and 1965."

Tolson	✓
DeLoach	✓
Mohr	✓
Bishop	✓
Casper	✓
Callahan	
Conrad	✓
Felt	✓
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Gandy	✓

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UPI-166

(WIRETAP)

(SUB FOR FIRST FOUR PGHS IN UPI-142)  
WASHINGTON--FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER WAS QUOTED TODAY AS SAYING THEN-ATTY. GEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY NOT ONLY AUTHORIZED BUT PROPOSED A TELEPHONE WIRETAP ON MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. BECAUSE HE WAS WORROED ABOUT ALLEGATIONS THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER HAD MARXIST LEANINGS.

IN A COPYRIGHTED INTERVIEW WITH THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR, HOOVER CLAIMED TO HAVE TWO MEMORANDA IN HIS FILES WHICH HE SAID PROVED IT WAS KENNEDY AND NOT HE WHO ORIGINALLY PROPOSED THE KING WIRETAP.

"I HAVE NEVER AUTHORIZED INSTALLATION OF TECHNICAL ELECTRONIC DEVICES WITHOUT WRITTEN AUTHORITY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL," HOOVER TOLD THE STAR.

THE NEWSPAPER SAID HOOVER REFUSED TO DESCRIBE THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEILLANCE, WHICH HIS ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR HAD SAID EARLIER WAS "STRICTLY IN THE FIELD OF INTERNAL SECURITY" AND SATISFIED ALL PROVISIONS LAID DOWN BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE FBI DIRECTOR DID NOT SAY WHEN THE WIRETAPPING BEGAN, THE STAR SAID, BUT DISCLOSED IT WAS DISCONTINUED APRIL 30, 1965, NEARLY THREE YEARS BEFORE KING WAS ASSASSINATED IN MEMPHIS, TENN., APRIL 4, 1968.

NEITHER THE FBI NOR THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WOULD COMMENT ON THE REPORT OR THE DOCUMENTS CITED BY HOOVER. BOTH SAID IT WAS THE OTHER'S RESPONSIBILITY TO DECIDE WHETHER THE MEMOS SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC.

THE NEWSPAPER QUOTED HOOVER AS SAYING HE HAD A MEMORANDUM DATED JUNE, 1963, FROM COURTNEY EVANS, THEN ASSISTANT FBI DIRECTOR, REPORTING THAT KENNEDY HAD ASKED ABOUT THE FEASIBILITY OF INSTALLING LISTENING DEVICES ON KING'S TELEPHONES.

THE EVANS MEMO, HOOVER SAID, SAID KENNEDY WAS CONCERNED ABOUT ALLEGATIONS THAT THE NEGRO LEADER WAS A STUDENT OF MARXISM AND CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH MARXIST FOLLOWERS, ALTHOUGH KING DID NOT ESPOUSE THESE IDEAS BECAUSE OF HIS RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

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CORRESPONDENTS:

PLEASE ELIMINATE LAST PGH OF UPI-142 BGNG: THE FBI HAS NEVER...

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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*Handwritten signatures and initials: "Sullivan", "J. P. ...", "File", "Rosen", "Mohr", "Bishop", "Casper", "Callahan", "Conrad", "Felt", "Gale", "Rosen", "Sullivan", "Tavel", "Trotter", "Tele. Room", "Holmes", "Gandy".*

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Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

# King Wiretap Called RFK's Idea

## Hoover Asserts Memo to FBI Cited Concern Over Marxism

(Copyright 1969 by The Evening Star Newspaper Co.)  
By JEREMIAH O'LEARY  
Star Staff Writer

Wiretapping of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s telephone was proposed to the FBI by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in June, 1963, and authorized by him in writing later that year, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told The Star today.

Hoover revealed the contents of two memorandums in one of which Kennedy expressed concern about possible infiltration of the race issue by Marxists and spoke of allegations that the Negro leader was closely associated with Marxist ideas and followers.

That memorandum to Hoover, dated June, 1963, was written by Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and liaison man with the Justice Department. It reported the substance of a conversation Evans had just had with Kennedy in which the Attorney General asked about the feasibility of installing electronic devices on King's telephones.

### Concerned About Allegations

Kennedy, according to the Evans memo, was concerned about reports that King was a student of Marxism, that he was associating with a New York attorney with known Communist connections, but that he did not openly espouse Marxism because of his religious beliefs. The Evans memorandum indicated Kennedy wanted to know if it was technically feasible to use electronic devices to prove or disprove these allegations.

The Evans memo said Evans replied to Kennedy that King was a man who traveled almost constantly and that it was extremely difficult to use wiretaps effectively in such cases.

Hoover told The Star that FBI officials also informed Kennedy at that time that they doubted the advisability of undertaking electronic surveillance of Dr. King because of possible political repercussions.

- The Washington Post
- Times Herald
- The Washington Daily News
- The Evening Star (Washington)
- The Sunday Star (Washington)
- Daily News (New York)
- Sunday News (New York)
- New York Post
- The New York Times
- The Sun (Baltimore)
- The Daily World
- The New Leader
- The Wall Street Journal
- The National Observer
- People's World
- Examiner (Washington)

Date JUN 19 1969

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However, the second memorandum cited by Hoover shows that on October 7, 1963, the FBI chief reported to Kennedy that it was then technically feasible to apply wiretaps to King's telephones at headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Ga. and at an unnamed location in New York.

That memorandum constituted the FBI's request for authority to proceed with the wiretap proposed by Kennedy four months before. The document bears in the lower left-hand corner the signature, "Robert F. Kennedy," and under the name the date "10-10-63."

Hoover did not indicate to The Star when the surveillance was started but said the taps were discontinued on April 30, 1965. At that time Nicholas Katzenbach was serving as Attorney General.

Asked about the results of the electronic surveillance today, Hoover declined comment.

The FBI director told The Star: "I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without written authority of the Attorney General."

Today's disclosures climaxed a long smoldering controversy over the role of the FBI, a subordinate bureau of the Justice Department, in using wiretaps or other electronic devices in investigative matters. The matter came to a head Sunday when Carl Rowan, a columnist for The Star, charged that the FBI had no authority to wiretap Dr. King's conversations. He quoted former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who succeeded Katzenbach, as saying "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

#### Authorization Cited

The Rowan charges prompted Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson to write to Rowan early this week defending legality of the King wiretaps.

"For your information," Tolson said in his letter, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

Tolson added that the monitoring device was "strictly in the field of internal security and therefore was within the provision laid down by the President of the United States."

Evans, now a Washington lawyer, was en route to Puerto Rico today and could not be reached for comment. However, Tuesday night Evans said he had no recollection of whether a wiretap

authorization directed at King had ever been involved in his discussion with Kennedy.

Aides to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said today he would have no comment on Hoover's disclosure.

Hoover and Kennedy, after the latter became a New York senator, accused each other of being responsible for use of hidden microphones in investigations.

Evans figured in that controversy when Kennedy made public a February, 1966, letter to him from Evans which made the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility but suggested he may have directly approved the use of wiretaps on phones. That letter said the FBI sent national security wiretap requests to Kennedy for approval.

It is reliably reported that Kennedy was reminded by the FBI that it still had in its files the authorizations signed by him as Attorney General for telephonic wiretaps. However, Hoover did not disclose at that time any names of persons under wiretap surveillance with Kennedy's approval.

At that stage, Kennedy and Hoover broke off the public exchange of charges as if by mutual consent. This was regarded partly as due to Kennedy's realization that his signed authorizations were still in FBI files, partly to the FBI's desire not to have special attention drawn to its investigative techniques nor to engage in a battle with the Kennedy forces that could have political overtones.

The Justice Department on Tuesday declined a direct answer

when asked for documentation of Tolson's contention in his letter to Rowan. But earlier this month, a Justice Department spokesman said Hoover was "accurate in every respect" in his repeated statements that all wiretaps were being authorized in advance and in writing by the Attorney General during the time-span of the controversy.

A Justice department spokesman, asked today if Attorney General John N. Mitchell had given Hoover permission to discuss the contents of secret documents of the King wiretapping, replied simply, "no comment."

However, the spokesman recalled that the attorney general had declined to authorize disclosures in court of the basic authority for the wiretapping. Such disclosures had been demanded by defense lawyers in the Houston draft evasion hearing for former boxing champion Cassius Clay. It was during that hearing that the King wiretapping was officially revealed for the first time.



ROBERT F. KENNEDY



MARTIN LUTHER KING



J. EDGAR HOOVER

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
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- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# King Phone Wiretap Defended by FBI

Washington, June 18 (UPI)—Top aide to J. Edgar Hoover said today that the FBI's wiretap on the telephone of Martin Luther King Jr. had been authorized in writing by Robert F. Kennedy, then attorney general.

Clyde A. Tolson, associate FBI director, made the assertion in disputing a charge that the wiretap violated restrictions which limited FBI wiretaps to persons approved by the attorney general and involving only "national security" investigations.

Tolson said the King wiretap met both requirements.

His statement was made in a letter to newspaper columnist Carl T. Rowan, who, in a column published Sunday, cited the wiretapping of King's phone in contending that Hoover should be removed from office.

"For your information," Tolson

wrote, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. This device was strictly in the field of internal security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then president of the United States."

FBI agent Robert Nichols testified that he had supervised the installation of a tap on King's home phone in Atlanta.

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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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**FBI Reply to Columnist**

# RFK Okayed King Wiretap

A top aide to J. Edgar Hoover said yesterday the FBI's wiretap on the phone of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was authorized in writing by Robert F. Kennedy as attorney general.

Clyde A. Tolson, associate FBI director, made the assertion in disputing a charge that the wiretap violated legal and presidential restrictions which limited FBI wiretaps to persons approved by the attorney general and involving only "national security" investigations.

Mr. Tolson said the King wiretap met both requirements.

His statement was made in a letter to newspaper columnist Carl T. Rowan, who in a column published Sunday cited the wiretapping of Dr. King's phone in contending that Mr. Hoover should be removed from office.

**COLUMNIST REBUKED**

Mr. Tolson called Mr. Rowan's column "malicious" and "scurrilous." His letter was distributed to news agencies by the FBI.

"For your information," Mr. Tolson wrote, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late U.S. attorney general, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. This device was strictly in the field of internal security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then U.S. President."

The disclosure that the FBI had tapped Dr. King's phone came earlier this month in Hous-

ton at a court hearing into the charge by former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay that his conviction for refusing to be drafted was obtained on evidence illegally gained by wiretapping.

FBI agent Robert Nichols testified then that he had supervised the installation of a tap on Dr. King's home phone in Atlanta. Mr. Kennedy served as attorney general from 1961 to September, 1964.

**SHADOWED**

Mr. Rowan in his column, asserted that "Dr. King's phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged and he was personally shadowed right up to the time he was slain."

He said that the wiretap violated Federal law and the restrictions ordered by President Lyndon B. Johnson. He also charged that FBI officials gave "tidbits" of information about Dr. King from the wiretapping to Southern congressmen who opposed him and that "certain FBI officials were roaming the country leaking to newspaper editors poisonous stories about Dr. King and what the buggings allegedly had revealed."

The Justice Department declined to comment on Mr. Tolson's letter except to point to a statement it issued earlier this month. That statement described as "accurate in every respect" congressional testimony by Mr. Hoover in 1965 that no wiretaps were undertaken without the attorney general's written authorization. (UP)

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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# FBI BLAMES KING TAP ON R. KENNEDY

Assertion Is Made In Answer To Charge Against Hoover

BY OSWALD JOHNSON

(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, June 18 — The FBI, speaking through a top official, has formally declared the late Robert F. Kennedy responsible for the wiretap on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., during the last few years of his life.

Clyde A. Tolson, associate director of the FBI and nominal second-in-command to J. Edgar Hoover, made the assertion in reply to a newspaper columnist's charge that the tap violated federal law and national policy.

The letter, on official letterhead, was addressed Monday to Carl T. Rowan, the columnist, and to the editor of the Washington Star, which carried the disputed column Sunday. The FBI made copies of the letter generally available today.

## "Personally Shadowed"

In his Sunday column, Mr. Rowan stated that the late civil rights leader's "phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged, and he personally shadowed right up to the time he was slain in Memphis on April 4, 1968."

The column noted that Ramsey Clark, the Attorney General in office at the close of the Johnson administration, denied FBI authority to eavesdrop on Dr. King.

It charged that the surveillance violated a federal statute and an executive order signed by President Johnson in June, 1965, and it called for Mr. Hoover's immediate removal from

## Called "Malicious"

Mr. Tolson's reply denounced the column as "malicious" and declared that the King tap had been properly authorized at its inception by Mr. Kennedy, who was then Attorney General.

The reply made no reference to the columnist's charge that the tap was continued several years after Mr. Kennedy's departure from the Justice Department and in apparent defiance of later orders to remove it.

FBI and Justice Department officials issued a firm "no comment" today when questioned on this phase of the controversy.

## Mitchell Keeps Mum

John N. Mitchell, the Attorney General, has been described as most unwilling to enter the latest controversy over FBI eavesdropping activities, and his spokesmen have been reluctant to discuss the King tap ever since its existence was disclosed during a court hearing in Houston early this month.

The actual date the King tap was removed, a fact recorded in Justice Department files, has never been divulged. Asked for corroboration of Mr. Tolson's claim that the tap was first put on with the approval of Mr. Kennedy, department spokesmen again declined comment.

It is known, however, that top officials in the Justice Department were informed of the contents of the Tolson letter before it was sent.

"My attention has been called to the malicious article which ~~was~~ in the Sunday Star on

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Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

# Stirring Sleeping Secrets

The murder of Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis seemed to catch him at the peak of his career, even elevating him in death in the minds of many over what he really had been in life, which was in some respects an enigma.

A powerful personality, a colorful orator, an effective coordinator and capitalizer of opportunity, King had been both hailed with the Nobel "Peace" Prize for stirring strife and roundly condemned for connections with Reds and pro-Reds.

Somehow, the tragedy of the crime that ended his life seemed to soften the harsh view of many and the suspicions were left, for the most part, unanswered and fading.

Then a few days ago, a liberal Negro columnist, Carl Rowan, chose to stir the King record somewhat to make an attack on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, insisting that Mr. Hoover quit his office.

In essence, Rowan charged FBI Director Hoover with official wrongdoing—a serious charge. Rowan claimed that the FBI had tapped King's phone without proper authority.

Now the charge has backfired on Rowan—and perhaps on King.

Clyde A. Tolson, FBI associate director, reported the King wiretap "was specifically approved in advance in writing" by the attorney general at that time.

And here is the kicker: that attorney general was none other than a liberal favorite of the King clique—Bobby Kennedy, who later was also murdered. So here it was—King's telephone tapped by approval of Bobby Kennedy.

Why?  
"For your information," Tolson wrote to Rowan, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in writing by the late at-

torney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. *This device was strictly in the field of internal security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then President of the United States.*" (Emphasis added.)

This is important: King was under surveillance in connection with the nation's internal security.

What was the secret record of King that caused such a move to be made? The public doesn't know. Perhaps it should.

Speaking in Chattanooga some time before King was murdered, Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., declared that if the American people knew what the FBI file on Martin Luther King Jr. contained, there would be an immediate end to King's power, influence and prestige. The senator was not at liberty to divulge the information.

Summaries of the tapped phone talks involving King reportedly have been given a House Appropriations Subcommittee headed by Rep. John Rooney, D-N.Y. The information was said to be so alarming in connecting King with figures in the Communist movement that it was brought to the attention of high national officials.

But it wasn't made public. With the King assassination, the sleeping secrets seemed destined never to be awakened.

But now Rowan, a King partisan and Hoover attacker, seems to have opened the matter up again. It is unlikely that the full truth about Martin Luther King will now emerge. But there is reason to recall Sen. Thurmond's evaluation that if the truth were known, if King were really known, he would appear in a far different light from that in which he has been so widely cast.

It would be good for the public to know the full truth.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4

Chattanooga News-Free Press  
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Date: 6/19/69

Edition:

Author:

Editor: LEE ANDERSON

Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING;

CARL ROWAN

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

Being Investigated

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June 15, 1969 concerning Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI.

"For your information, the wiretap on Martin Luther King, Jr., was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. This device was strictly in the field of national security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then President of the United States.

"It is to be hoped that you will give the same publicity to this letter as was given to your scurrilous editorial."

#### Charges Were Traded

Mr. Kennedy, who was Attorney General from January, 1961, until September, 1964, traded charges with Mr. Hoover three years ago over the question of responsibility for the FBI's extensive bugging and wiretapping of suspected mobsters.

Mr. Kennedy then sought to disclaim responsibility of much of this activity by citing a February, 1966, letter to him from Courtney A. Evans, who had been assistant FBI director and chief liaison officer with the Justice Department during Mr. Kennedy's tenure as Attorney General.

The letter said the only wire-

tap authorizations "which were ever submitted" to Mr. Kennedy involved "serious national security cases"—a category which, in the FBI view, could have included Dr. King.

#### Johnson Order

The government's eavesdropping activities were sharply curtailed by an executive order signed by President Johnson June 30, 1965. By its terms, all wiretaps were to be suspended except "where the national security is at stake."

The order also specified that no tap in existence on that date could be continued "without first obtaining the approval of the Attorney General."

#### Stated Flatley

Nicholas Deb. Katzenbach, then Attorney General, declined to discuss the issue when reached by reporters today. Reliable sources have confirmed, however, that the King tap was ordered discontinued by Mr. Katzenbach.

Ramsey Clark, who took over command of the Justice Department in October, 1966, has stated flatly that "no wiretap or electronic surveillance was authorized on Dr. King while I was Attorney General."

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# FBI Says Bobby OK'd King Bug

BY CLARENCE JONES  
Free Press Washington Staff

WASHINGTON—The public outcry over the spying on Martin Luther King has brought into the open parts of a story that has been whispered in Washington for five years.

The story is not flattering either to the slain civil rights leader or to the various law enforcement agencies involved.

Newly uncovered highlights include:

● The FBI eavesdropped on King as part of an internal security investigation. The original surveillance was approved in writing by Robert F. Kennedy when he was attorney general.

● The statements of Robert Kennedy, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover have sometimes been misleading and politically inspired.

Kennedy, for instance, in a public row with Hoover over the original decision to use electronic surveillance on a broad basis, said in December, 1966 that he had not been aware of all FBI bugging and wiretapping activity.

Hoover replied that this was "absolutely inconceivable."

FORMER Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach explained to the Free Press Wednesday how the statements of both men were true but incomplete.

Kennedy, according to Katzenbach, would give original approval for the FBI to spy

electronically on a person would not follow it up. A year or even a week later, Kennedy would give any person knowledge of whether the surveillance was still in effect.

Clark, in his statements since the June 4 admission by an FBI agent that King's telephone was tapped, has left the impression that he never knew of the surveillance on King.

Reading Clark's quotes carefully, however, you discover that he has denied knowledge of any electronic surveillance of King taking place only while he was attorney general.

"If Clark didn't know about the King stuff, he was the only one in the Justice Building that didn't," an employee during the Johnson administration said Wednesday.

The FBI's tapping and bugging of King ended, the Free Press learned, during the brief period between the time Katzenbach left and Clark became attorney general.

It was discontinued, along with other surveillances, during the Kennedy-Hoover fracas in 1966 and was not reinstated after Clark became attorney general.

IN AN UNUSUAL counter-attack, the FBI late Wednesday issued copies of a letter to newspaper columnist Carl T. Rowan. Rowan wrote Sunday that the wiretapping of King was illegal and violated presidential restrictions that limited electronic surveillance to national security investigations. He called for Hoover's resignation.

Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson called Rowan's column malicious and scurrilous.

Tolson also said for the first time officially that the King wiretap was authorized in writing by Robert Kennedy while he was attorney general.

Four years ago, highly placed FBI agents were inviting congressmen and newsmen to hear "the Martin Luther King tapes" apparently in an effort to back up J. Edgar Hoover's statement that King was "the most notorious liar in the country."

The recordings and clandestine pictures were supposed to show the immorality of the Baptist preacher during his civil rights crusades around the country.

Although the invitations inferred that the FBI had made the tapes, they were actually recorded by various police agencies and then shared with the FBI.

The FBI had its own bugs and wiretaps on King at the same time, but these were summarized in written form daily and then the tapes were erased.

KATZENBACH, now working as an executive for IBM in New York, refused to comment on the King case Wednesday, but he did clearly define Justice Department policy on electronic surveillance under Kennedy.

When Kennedy was attorney general, Katzenbach said, he would give his approval for the FBI to bug or wiretap an individual, but had no follow-up.

"I'm the one that changed that," Katzenbach said. "I knew at any one time what was going on. Before that, once it was approved, it just kept on going. It could be taken off and you wouldn't know it. It was an indefinite approval."

Under Katzenbach and Clark, the attorney general was given a list every three months of those then under surveillance.

Asked about the offers to congressmen and newsmen to hear tapes of King's conversations, Katzenbach said, "I've heard the same things you've heard, but I had no first-hand knowledge of it."

"I really don't think I can comment any further because this is still before the courts. It's very hard to make a comment on a matter like this without saying everything that ought to be said."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1 A  
Detroit Free Press  
Detroit, Michigan

*Callahan*  
*Downey*  
*McGee*

Date: 6/19/69  
Edition:  
Author: Clarence Jones  
Editor: Lee Hilla  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification: REC 36  
Submitting Office: Detroit

Being Investigated

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181 AUG 7, 1969

*file*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## F.B.I. Says Kennedy Approved Wiretap On Dr. King's Phone

WASHINGTON, June 17 (AP) — The Federal Bureau of Investigation attacked as "scurrilous" today a report that its director, J. Edgar Hoover, had acted on his own in wiretapping the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The wiretap "was specifically approved in advance in writing" by the Attorney General, the late Robert F. Kennedy, the F.B.I. said.

The bureau released the text of a letter written by Clyde A. Tolson, associate director, to Carl T. Rowan, the columnist, who denounced Mr. Hoover on Sunday and called for the director's resignation.

The letter said: "My attention has been called to the malicious article which you wrote in The Washington Sunday Star on June 15, 1969, concerning Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I.

"For your information, the

wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. This device was strictly in the field of internal security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then President of the United States.

"It is to be hoped that you will give the same publicity to this letter as was given to your scurrilous editorial."

The fact that the Government wiretapped the assassinated civil rights leader's phone was confirmed two weeks ago during hearings in Houston, on whether the conviction of Cassius Clay, the former heavyweight boxing champion, was tainted by illegally obtained evidence. Clay is appealing a sentence for refusing induction into the armed forces.

The Justice Department, at that time, said that Clay at no time had been the target of a Government wiretap. But a spokesman said some of his conversations were overheard during other wiretapping operations.

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 D.P. [unclear]  
 [unclear]

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 19 1969

NOT RECORDED  
 191 AUG 12 1969

54 AUG 12 1969

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 131

# FBI Official Asserts RFK Approved Wiretapping of Dr. King's Telephone

United Press International

A top aide to J. Edgar Hoover said yesterday the FBI's wiretap on the telephone of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had been authorized in writing by Robert F. Kennedy when he was Attorney General.

Clyde A. Tolson, Associate FBI Director, made the assertion in disputing a charge that the wiretap violated legal and presidential restrictions which limited FBI wiretaps to persons approved by the Attorney General and involving only "national security" investigations.

Tolson said the King wiretap met both requirements.

His statement was made in a letter to newspaper columnist Carl T. Rowan, who in a column published Sunday in the

Sunday Star cited the wiretapping of King's phone in contending that Hoover should be removed from office.

"For your information," Tolson wrote, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. This device was strictly in the field of internal security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then President of the United States."

The disclosure that the FBI had tapped Mr. King's phone came this month in Houston at a court hearing into the charge by former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay

that his conviction for refusing to be drafted was obtained on evidence illegally gained by wiretapping.

FBI agent Robert Nichols testified that he had supervised the installation of a tap on Mr. King's home phone in Atlanta.

Kennedy served as Attorney General from 1961 to September, 1964, when Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach succeeded him. Katzenbach was succeeded in 1967 by Ramsey Clark.

Katzenbach, contacted yesterday in New York, where he is general counsel and vice president of International Business Machines Corp., said about King's phone: "I had knowledge (about) whether it was or was not tapped."

He would not comment further or clarify his statement except to say, "I obviously can't talk about it. I don't think it should be discussed by me, by the Justice Department or by anyone."

Clark said that as Attorney General he had required the FBI to furnish him with a list every three months of the names of persons whose phones were being tapped. Clark said Mr. King's name had never been on the list.

Nichols' testimony indicated the King wiretap had continued until his assassination in Memphis April 4, 1968, when Clark was Attorney General.

Clark, contacted at his Virginia home, insisted he had no knowledge of any wiretap involving Mr. King. The former Attorney General said, "No wiretap or electronic surveillance was authorized on Dr. King while I was Attorney General."

Because of his order for a report every three months, Clark said he would have known about a King wiretap. He added, in an interview denying that he had authorized a wiretap, that "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

*Handwritten notes:*  
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 [Large scribbles]

- The Washington Post Times Herald A-1
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 19 1969

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REC-67

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mike  
Royko

*FBI's tapping  
of King phones*



The FBI has a lot more explaining to do about its motives for spying on the late Dr. Martin Luther King. It has publicly described as "malicious" a column written by Carl Rowan that criticized the tapping of Dr. King's phones. Clyde Tolson, associate FBI director, says the wiretapping was done for "national security" reasons, with the approval of the late Robert Kennedy, then attorney general. That doesn't come even close to telling it.

**ONE THING IT DOESN'T EXPLAIN**, is the following incident: About four years ago, an ex-FBI agent I knew asked me to join him for a round of golf. After the round, we sat in the clubhouse chatting. He worked the conversation around to Dr. King. He told me the FBI had been using a variety of electronic eavesdropping devices on Dr. King. Besides tapping his phone, they had planted listening devices in hotel rooms he used while traveling. The result, he said, was a very thick file on Dr. King. He gave me some examples. They were very personal things. They were things I'm sure Dr. King would not want anyone else to know about. If you bugged almost anyone's bedroom long enough, you would hear things that person didn't want anyone else to know about.

**BUT NONE OF THE THINGS** this ex-FBI agent told me reflected in any way on Dr. King's loyalty, his Americanism, or seemed to be remotely related to national security. Nor did they reflect on his role as a leader in the civil rights crusade, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, or a figure of historic importance. I asked the ex-FBI agent if his information was merely gossip or if he was sure about it. He said he had visited J. Edgar Hoover in Washington and had been briefed on the contents of the King file. It was not uncommon, he said, for trusted ex-agents to be let in on such things. Obviously, I was supposed to be shocked by the things he told me. And I was. But not for the reasons he assumed. The shocking part of it was that he was actually sitting there telling me such things. They were none of my business, and they were none of his business. They were nobody's business but Dr. King's.

It was in **OLD MUD-SLINGING**, on a level with the lowest scandal magazines and transom-peeking publications.

*Dear King*  
*Down*  
*help*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3  
CHICAGO DAILY  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 6-19-69  
Edition: BLUE SKY  
Author: MIKE ROYKO  
Editor: ROY H. FISHER  
Title: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
Character: 100-35356  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: CHIC

EX-111  
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There was no doubt in my mind then, and none now, that it was being leaked to me for the purpose of discrediting Dr. King.

The same type of thing, I have since learned, occurred in other cities, with other newsmen.

And it doesn't take much imagination to figure out why. Dr. King and Hoover had engaged in a furious public quarrel. Hoover, quite clearly, did not like Dr. King.

That's why I suggest the FBI hasn't given an adequate explanation.

If the wiretapping was being done for national security, I presume that it should have been kept a big secret.

Secret? How much of a secret was it if a newspaper columnist in Chicago knew of the eavesdropping? Or if a former agent — a private citizen — could talk about it?

(For the record, the ex-agent was not a two-bit gumshoe given to flights of fancy. He was then a well known and highly respected investigator. He is today a famous and powerful man.)

**AND IS THE PURPOSE OF SUCH** official eavesdropping to gather spite material, transom-peeking tidbits that will be whispered in the ears of opinion-makers?

That, of course, is the greatest danger from Big Brother and his big ear.

If that's what Dr. King's file was used for, then I'll gladly second Rowan's suggestion that Hoover be replaced.

The scandal-sheet business should be left to private industry.



REC 49

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Editorials

# Wiretaps Do Not Frighten Folk With Nothing To Hide

WIRETAPS are in the news again. This time, editorial eyebrows were raised high in shock and surprise over the report that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had tapped the phones of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

As has become customary, the ultra-liberals expressed horror and immediately called (again) for the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI director.

But last week a top official of the FBI said that the official wire-tapping of Dr. King's phones had been done with the advance approval of the late Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

CLYDE A. TOLSON, the bureau's associate director, defended the much-criticized tapping of King's phones in a letter addressed to Carl T. Rowan, a columnist for The Washington Star, who attacked Hoover in an article in that newspaper last Sunday.

"For your information," Tolson wrote to the columnist, "the wire-tap on Martin Luther King, Jr., was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

Rowan had accused Hoover of "abuse of and contempt for the law" in tapping the King phones. But Tolson said the monitoring was done "strictly in the field of internal security, and, therefore, was within the provision laid down by the then President of the United States

WE HAVE NEVER understood why the business of electronic eavesdropping — by whatever method — has always caused the ultra-liberal crew such agony. It is not necessarily a reflection on the person directly involved, since the investigators' interest may be in other persons who call in to the tapped phone and may even be done to protect the reputation or the very life of the person directly involved.

It was evidence gathered by wire tapping in the income tax case of Robert G. (Bobby) Baker, the protégé of former President Johnson, that "broke" the case. It was ordered by former Attorney General Kennedy — the story at the time being that Kennedy was seeking information that would persuade his brother, President Kennedy, to drop Johnson as his running mate in 1964.

MANY PEOPLE ASK to have taps put on their phones in order to trace cranks, blackmailers and mouters of obscenities.

Citizens with nothing to hide generally raise no furious objection to the use of electronic eavesdropping aids, although of course nobody likes to have his privacy invaded. It is the captains and lieutenants of the criminal underworld, along with the saboteurs and the international plotters who principally object to methods which they themselves use freely.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 10

The Washington Star

Washington, D. C.

*Handwritten initials: DUBW, Llan*

Date: 8/2/69

Edition: Sunday

Author:

Editor: Robert F. Kennedy

Title: "Editorial"

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

Being Investigated

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# FBI Says Kennedy OK'd King Wiretap

By **LYLE DENNISTON**  
*Star Staff Writer*

A top official of the FBI has claimed that official wiretapping on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had the advance approval of the late Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Clyde A. Tolson, the bureau's associate director, defended the legality of the much-criticized tapping of King's phone in a letter dated Monday.

The letter was sent to Carl T. Rowan, a columnist for The Star, and was intended as an answer to an article Rowan wrote for last Sunday's edition, attacking FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for the electronic spying on King. A copy of the letter was sent to the editor of The Star.

"For your information," Tolson wrote to the columnist, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

### First Revealed in Houston

Tolson added that the monitoring device "was strictly in the field of internal security, and, therefore, was within the provision laid down by the then President of the United States."

Rowan, reached by telephone in Little Rock, Ark., commented: "I find Mr. Tolson's revelation interesting, and I have submitted to him additional questions seeking information to which I think the American public is entitled. I look forward to his reply."

The first official revelation that King had been the subject of FBI wiretapping came earlier this month in a federal court hearing in Houston.

Robert Nichols, a special agent in the FBI office in Atlanta, testified that he had supervised a device attached to the telephone lines at King's home there.

The wiretap apparently was

installed sometime in 1964, and there have been indications that the wiretapping continued for some time after that, perhaps until shortly before King's assassination April 4, 1968. Kennedy was attorney general from January 1961 until Sept. 3, 1964.

If the wiretapping had the specific approval of the attorney general, and if it was used as part of a "national security" investigation, it apparently was not operated in violation of legal restrictions in effect at the time.

Tolson's letter seemed clearly designed to show that both aspects of legality had been met by the FBI. His letter was prompted by comments by the columnist that Hoover had been flouting the law by permitting the wiretap on King's phone. Rowan directly accused Hoover of "abuse of contempt for the law."

Branding this a "malicious" and "scurrilous" article, Tolson invited Rowan to give his answer wide publicity.

The FBI's new defense of itself seemed likely to start a new round of public dispute over the official responsibility for the use of electronic listening devices.

Three years ago, Hoover and

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) A
- The Sunday Star (Washington) FIN
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

*Miles*

Date JUN 18 1969

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Robert Kennedy, then a U.S. senator from New York, ~~traded~~ public charges that each other was responsible for approval of the use of hidden microphones, as opposed to direct wiretap, for investigation.

At that time, the late senator made public a letter to him dated Feb. 17, 1966, from Courtney A. Evans, who had been assistant FBI director while Kennedy was attorney general.

While Kennedy relied on that letter to help him make the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility, the letter did carry a paragraph which suggests that Kennedy had been involved directly in approving the use of wiretaps.

The paragraph read: "On Jan. 10, 1961, while you were attorney general designate, a memorandum was delivered to you furnishing a summary on the use of wiretapping by the FBI in serious national security cases. Thereafter, individual requests in these serious national security cases for wiretap authorization were sent to you by the FBI for approval. These were the only wiretap authorization which were ever submitted to you."

Evans, now a Washington lawyer, said last night that he simply had no recollection about whether a wiretap authorization directed at King had ever been involved in his discussion with Kennedy.

If the King wiretap was installed any time during 1964, and if it did have approval by the attorney general, that could have come only from Kennedy or his successor, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Katzenbach, reached by tele-

phone in Armonk, N.Y., declined to comment on Tolson's assertion. He noted that the King wiretap is presently involved "in litigation"—a reference to the Houston case, which is a draft evasion prosecution of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay.

Aides to Kennedy suggested last night that, during 1964, the period after the assassination of his brother, President John F. Kennedy, the attorney general's interest in some of his official affairs flagged.

At the time, Katzenbach, was Kennedy deputy at the Justice Department.

A later attorney general Ramsey Clark, has told reporters that he personally had never given approval for wiretapping on King. Clark also has said he required the FBI to tell him every three months the names of people being monitored electronically and that King's name was never reported to him in that category.

If the wiretapping had continued until shortly before King's death, it would have been in operation during Clark's leadership of the department.

Tolson's letter to Rowan, while saying that the wiretap on King had been "specifically authorized" by Kennedy, did not say directly that King himself was the subject under investigation.

In addition, Tolson did not include with his letter a copy of the specific document upon which the claim of authorization apparently was based.

Testimony at the Houston hearing appeared to indicate that King himself was the subject of the investigation, and that this was the reason that his

telephone had been tapped for long periods of time.

A Justice Department spokesman, asked whether there was any document to support the claim in Tolson's letter, declined a direct answer last night. However, the spokesman referred to a statement issued by the department earlier this month which had said that Hoover was "accurate in every respect" when he had repeatedly told Congress all wiretaps had been authorized in advance and in writing by the attorney general in office at the time the tapping was proposed.

The spokesman thus appeared to be implying that Tolson's letter also was an accurate description of authorization.

Tolson   
 DeLoach   
 Mohr   
 Bishop   
 Casper   
 Callahan   
 Conrad   
 Felt   
 Gale   
 Rosen   
 Sullivan   
 Tavel   
 Trotter   
 Tele. Room   
 Holmes   
 Gandy

DUAM  
 SLS  
 G. J. [unclear]

UPI-119(WIRETAP)

WASHINGTON--A TOP AIDE TO J. EDGAR HOOVER SAID TODAY THE FBI'S WIRETAP ON THE TELEPHONE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED IN WRITING BY ROBERT F. KENNEDY AS ATTORNEY GENERAL.

CLYDE A. TOLSON, ASSOCIATE FBI DIRECTOR, MADE THE ASSERTION IN DISPUTING A CHARGE THAT THE WIRETAP VIOLATED LEGAL AND PRESIDENTIAL RESTRICTIONS WHICH LIMITED FBI WIRETAPS TO PERSONS APPROVED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND INVOLVING ONLY "NATIONAL SECURITY" INVESTIGATIONS.

TOLSON SAID THE KING WIRETAP MET BOTH REQUIREMENTS.

HIS STATEMENT WAS MADE IN A LETTER TO NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST CARL T. ROMAN, WHO IN A COLUMN PUBLISHED SUNDAY IN THE WASHINGTON STAR CITED THE WIRETAPPING OF KING'S PHONE IN CONTENDING THAT HOOVER SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM OFFICE.

TOLSON CALLED ROMAN'S COLUMN "MALICIOUS" AND "SCURRILOUS." HIS LETTER WAS DISTRIBUTED TO NEWS AGENCIES BY THE FBI.

"FOR YOUR INFORMATION," TOLSON WROTE. "THE WIRETAP ON MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WAS A LEGAL DEVICE WHICH HAD BEEN APPROVED BY ROBERT F. KENNEDY, THIS DEVICE WAS STRICTLY IN THE FIELD OF INTERNAL SECURITY AND, THEREFORE, WAS WITHIN THE PROVISIONS LAID DOWN BY THE THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

54 AUG 12 1969

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THE DISCLOSURE THAT THE FBI HAD TAPPED KING'S PHONE CAME THIS MONTH IN HOUSTON AT A COURT HEARING INTO THE CHARGE BY FORMER HEAVYWEIGHT BOXING CHAMPION CASSIUS CLAY THAT HIS CONVICTION FOR REFUSING TO BE DRAFTED WAS OBTAINED ON EVIDENCE ILLEGALLY GAINED BY WIRETAPPING.

FBI AGENT ROBERT NICHOLS TESTIFIED THAT HE HAD SUPERVISED THE INSTALLATION OF A TAP ON KING'S HOME PHONE IN ATLANTA. KENNEDY SERVED AS ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 1961 TO SEPTEMBER, 1964, WHEN NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH SUCCEEDED HIM. KATZENBACH WAS SUCCEEDED IN 1967 BY RAMSEY CLARK.

KATZENBACH, CONTACTED WEDNESDAY IN NEW YORK, WHERE HE IS GENERAL COUNSEL AND VICE PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORP., SAID ABOUT KING'S PHONE: "I HAD KNOWLEDGE (ABOUT) WHETHER IT WAS OR WAS NOT TAPPED."

HE WOULD NOT COMMENT FURTHER OR CLARIFY HIS STATEMENT EXCEPT TO SAY, "I OBVIOUSLY CAN'T TALK ABOUT IT. I DON'T THINK IT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED BY ME, BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OR BY ANYONE."

CLARK SAID THAT AS ATTORNEY GENERAL HE HAD REQUIRED THE FBI TO FURNISH HIM WITH A LIST EVERY THREE MONTHS OF THE NAMES OF PERSONS WHOSE PHONES WERE BEING TAPPED. CLARK SAID KING'S NAME HAD NEVER BEEN ON THE LIST.

NICHOLS' TESTIMONY INDICATED THE KING WIRETAP HAD CONTINUED UNTIL HIS ASSASSINATION IN MEMPHIS ON APRIL 4, 1968 WHEN CLARK WAS ATTORNEY GENERAL.

CLARK, CONTACTED AT HIS VIRGINIA HOME, INSISTED HE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY WIRETAP INVOLVING KING. THE FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL SAID, "NO WIRETAP OR ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE WAS AUTHORIZED ON DR. KING WHILE I WAS ATTORNEY GENERAL."

CLARK SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN THE CUSTOM OF THE FBI TO ASK A NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR WIRETAP APPROVAL IF A NEW NEED FOR SUCH ACTION AROSE. ORDINARILY, HE SAID, A NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL WOULD NOT BE INFORMED OF WIRETAP OPERATIONS THAT HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED BEFORE HE TOOK OFFICE.

BUT BECAUSE OF HIS ORDER FOR A THREE-MONTH REPORT, CLARK SAID HE WOULD HAVE KNOWN ABOUT A KING WIRETAP.

HE CONCEDED THAT UNTIL IT IS MADE KNOWN EXACTLY WHEN THE WIRETAP OF THE KING HOME ENDED "EVERYONE IS PLAYING GAMES."

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WOULD NOT REVEAL WHEN THE WIRETAP WAS ENDED.

ROMAN, IN HIS COLUMN, ASSERTED THAT "DR. KING'S PHONES WERE TAPPED, HIS HOTEL ROOMS BUGGED AND HE WAS PERSONNALLY SHADOWED RIGHT UP TO THE TIME HE WAS SLAIN."

HE SAID THAT THE WIRETAP VIOLATED FEDERAL LAW AND THE RESTRICTIONS ORDERED BY PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON. HE ALSO CHARGED THAT FBI OFFICIALS GAVE "TIDBITS" OF INFORMATION ABOUT KING FROM THE WIRETAPPING TO SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN WHO OPPOSED HIM AND THAT "CERTAIN FBI OFFICIALS WERE ROAMING THE COUNTRY LEAKING TO NEWSPAPER EDITORS POISONOUS STORIES ABOUT DR. KING AND WHAT THE BUGGINGS ALLEGEDLY HAD REVEALED."

IN AN INTERVIEW DENYING THAT HE HAD AUTHORIZED SUCH A WIRETAP, CLARK SAID, "THE IMPLICATION THAT PEOPLE THOUGHT DR. KING WAS A SECURITY THREAT IS OUTRAGEOUS."

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DECLINED WEDNESDAY TO COMMENT ON TOLSON'S LETTER EXCEPT TO POINT TO A STATEMENT IT ISSUED EARLIER THIS MONTH. THAT STATEMENT DESCRIBED AS "ACCURATE IN EVERY RESPECT" CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY BY HOOVER IN 1965 THAT NO WIRETAPS WERE UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S WRITTEN AUTHORIZATION.

6/18--EG&DP4PED

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach *[initials]*  
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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# FBI Claims Kennedy OK'd Tapping of Dr. King's Phone

By LYLE DENNISTON  
 Star Staff Writer

A top official of the FBI has claimed that official wiretapping on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had the advance approval of the late Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Clyde A. Tolson, the bureau's associate director, defended the legality of the much-criticized tapping of King's phone in a letter dated Monday.

The letter was sent to Carl T. Rowan, a columnist for The Star, and was intended as an answer to an article Rowan wrote for last Sunday's edition, attacking FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for the electronic spying on King. A copy of the letter was sent to the editor of The Star.

"For your information," Tolson wrote to the columnist, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

## First Revealed in Houston

Tolson added that the monitoring device "was strictly in the field of internal security, and, therefore, was within the provision laid down by the then President of the United States."

The first public revelation that King had been the subject of FBI wiretapping came earlier this month in a federal court hearing in Houston.

Robert Nichols, a special agent in the FBI office in Atlanta, testified that he had supervised a device attached to the telephone lines at King's home there.

The wiretap apparently was installed sometime in 1964, and there have been indications that the wiretapping continued for some time after that, perhaps until shortly before King's assassination April 4, 1968. Kennedy was attorney general from January 1961 until Sept. 3, 1964.

If the wiretapping had the specific approval of the attorney general, and if it was used as part of a "national security" investigation, it apparently was not operated in violation of legal restrictions in effect at the time.

## Rowan Blasts Hoover

Tolson's letter seemed clearly designed to show that both aspects of legality had been met by the FBI. His letter was prompted by comments by the columnist that Hoover had been flouting the law by permitting the wiretap on King's phone. Rowan directly accused Hoover of "abuse of contempt for the law."

Branding this a "malicious" and "scurrilous" article, Tolson invited Rowan to give his answer wide publicity.

The FBI's new defense of itself seemed likely to start a new round of public dispute over the official responsibility for the use of electronic listening devices.

Three years ago, Hoover and Robert Kennedy, then a U.S. senator from New York, traded public charges that each other was responsible for approval of the use of hidden microphones, as opposed to direct wiretap, for investigation.

*[Handwritten notes and signatures]*  
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- The Washington Post Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 18 1969

NOT RECORDED  
 191 AUG 25 1969

56 AUG 28 1969

*[Handwritten signature]*  
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#### Kennedy Released Letter

At that time, the late senator made public a letter to him dated Feb. 17, 1966, from Courtney A. Evans, who had been assistant FBI director while Kennedy was attorney general.

While Kennedy relied on that letter to help him make the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility, the letter did carry a paragraph which suggests that Kennedy had been involved directly in approving the use of wiretaps.

The paragraph read: "On Jan. 10, 1961, while you were attorney general designate, a memorandum was delivered to you furnishing a summary on the use of wiretapping by the FBI in serious national security cases. Thereafter, individual requests in these serious national security cases for wiretap authorization were sent to you by the FBI for approval. These were the only wiretap authorization which were ever submitted to you."

Evans, now a Washington lawyer, said last night that he simply had no recollection about whether a wiretap authorization directed at King had ever been involved in his discussion with Kennedy.

#### Interest Said to Flag

If the King wiretap was installed any time during 1964, and if it did have approval by the attorney general, that could have come only from Kennedy or his successor, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Katzenbach could not be reached immediately for comment on the matter.

Aides to Kennedy suggested last night that, during 1964, the period after the assassination of his brother, President John F. Kennedy, the attorney general's interest in some of his official affairs flagged.

At the time, Katzenbach, was Kennedy deputy at the Justice Department.

A later attorney general, Ramsey Clark, has told reporters that he personally had never given approval for wiretapping on King. Clark also has said he required the FBI to tell him every three months the names of people being monitored electronically and that King's name was never reported to him in that category.

#### No Document Included

If the wiretapping had continued until shortly before King's death, it would have been in operation during Clark's leadership of the department.

Tolson's letter to Rowan, while saying that the wiretap on King had been "specifically authorized" by Kennedy, did not say directly that King himself was the subject under investigation.

In addition, Tolson did not include with his letter a copy of the specific document upon which the claim of authorization apparently was based.

Testimony at the Houston hearing appeared to indicate that King himself was the subject of the investigation, and that this was the reason that his telephone had been tapped for long periods of time.

A Justice Department spokesman, asked whether there was any document to support the claim in Tolson's letter, declined a direct answer last night. However, the spokesman referred to a statement issued by the department earlier this month which had said that Hoover was "accurate in every respect" when he had repeatedly told Congress all wiretaps had been authorized in advance and in writing by the attorney general in office at the time the tapping was proposed.

The spokesman thus appeared to be implying that Tolson's letter also was an accurate description of authorization.

# FBI Says Taps Link King to Communist

By Paul Scott

WASHINGTON - Public airing of the FBI's recordings of private conversations of Dr. Martin Luther King conducted with his protest advisers could go a long way toward changing the image of the slain civil rights leader.

Summaries of the recordings, as revealed to members of a House Appropriation Subcommittee, headed by Rep. John J. Rooney (D. N.Y.), clearly indicate that King was in direct contact with one of the most influential communists in the U.S.

With leads obtained from their electronic eavesdropping, the FBI was able to confirm that this Kremlin agent, whose influence extended into the highest ranks of the Communist Party, USA, was one of King's ghost writers and chief advisers on protest strategy.

In addition to the evidence gained from the King recordings, the FBI succeeded in taking several photographs of the civil rights leader meeting with this covert Communist operator at one of the major U.S. airports.

### Photos of Meetings

King, whose assassination in Memphis in April, 1968, is still carried as an "open investigation" by the FBI, was first put under government surveillance in 1961 when the late Robert Kennedy was Attorney General.

Although Kennedy, after leaving the Justice Department, denied any knowledge of King's surveillance, FBI and Justice Department records show he authorized the inquiry during a conference attended by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, then Deputy Attorney

General Nicholas de Katzenbach, and another high-ranking FBI aide.

### Another Security Case

The surveillance of King, now under fire by several large East Coast newspapers, has the outgrowth of information that the FBI agents obtained during its investigation of another national security case.

When King's name was mentioned several times by one of the persons under surveillance in the case, it was decided that the civil rights leader should be placed under close observation.

The FBI inquiry, which continued for several years, involved King's trips to Sweden and East Germany as well as his preparations to lead the so-called "Poor Army Campaign" to disrupt Washington.

These and other still secret details of King's activities were revealed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to members of the Rooney subcommittee shortly before the civil rights leader was slain.

### Feared D.C. Riots

Deeply concerned about King's plans to disrupt Washington, the legislators had requested the briefing so they

would be prepared to blunt his assault on Congress should that become necessary.

So alarming was the FBI's data on King that the lawmakers took the extraordinary step of briefing House Speaker John McCormack. This information along with other material furnished by the FBI caused McCormack to make extensive preparations, including the alerting of military units, to defend the Capitol against King's plans to cause massive disruption.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*File FBI*

*Dist. W. M.*

*M. E. G.*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

*N.Y. Daily Column*

JUN 16 1969

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The House Democratic leaders, all strong supporters of the late President Kennedy, were reputedly shocked at the gutter-type language King used in private conversations about the late President.

Other recordings in the FBI files dealt extensively with his private life, according to the legislators, and showed that there were two Kings — one the public knew and the other known only to his closest friends and the FBI.

Although no government agency or commission has made a study of King's long-range strategy of protest, there is enough evidence in the files of the FBI to show that King's goal was to create a mass protest movement. With the movement, King and his advisers hoped to force a radical change in this country's form of government.

King's leadership was to give the over-all movement "motion" and an acceptable "image" that would attract millions of Negroes, young people, the poor, clergy, and those disenchanted with the Vietnam war.

His tactics in changing his protest leadership from one of civil rights to anti-war, anti-poverty, and anti-government during the closing days of his life were part of this grand strategy.

#### National Holiday Drive

Whether most of these FBI recordings, since many of them deal with national security cases still under investigation, will

ever be revealed by the Nixon Administration is conjectural.

Should supporters of Dr. King, however, pump new life into the stalled drive in Congress to create a national holiday honoring him, demands could become forthcoming from anti-King legislators that Hoover be called to testify. If that occurs, the "Martin Luther King tapes" could become big news.

For now, the only public confirmation of the King recordings comes from Houston Federal Judge Joe Ingraham's hearing involving the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay.

Testimony by FBI agents in the Houston hearing revealed that conversations of King and Clay were recorded.

Both the movement to mark King's birthday as a national holiday and the Houston court hearing clearly indicate that the final chapter in the Martin King story is yet to be written.

CARL T. ...

# It Is Time for J. Edgar Hoover to Go

A society in which more peril than when people lose the ability to control a genuine threat to personal liberty.

This society is in a lot of peril if we may judge from the public reaction — or lack of it — to courtroom admissions of a variety of illegal FBI wiretaps and buggings of homes and hotel rooms.

A Justice Department official acknowledged in Federal District Court that Dr. Martin Luther King was under electronic surveillance in 1961 and 1965, and the FBI agent who supervised this surveillance told the court "it was my understanding that it went on after that."

The whole truth is that Dr. King's phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged, and he was personally shadowed right up to the time he was slain in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

Another FBI agent, C. Barry Pickett, told the court in Houston, Texas, that for four solid years he had listened eight hours a day, five days a week, to the conversations of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. Pickett employed both a telephone wiretap and a microphone planted in Muhammad's home.

These cases of electronic eavesdropping, which violate both federal law and a presidential executive order, were disclosed in a hearing on former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay's effort to overturn a five-year prison sentence for his refusal to be drafted.

These buggings, which caught some Clay conversations in their "net," are but a fraction of the illegal wiretaps that have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize.

Why the bland, indifferent reaction on the part of most Americans?

First, there is the general FBI justification for such tactics: "national security."

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who states emphatically that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King, asserts that "the implication that people thought is outrageous."

Still, that term "national security" is more powerful than "motherhood," for it evokes fear, and men still surrender more things — including liberty — out of fear than they do out of love.

The puzzling thing about Clark's statement is that he acts as though he is surprised to hear of the wiretapping and bugging of Dr. King. Could Clark possibly have been unaware that FBI officials were going before congressional committees and partly justifying larger appropriations by

attaching some congressional and feeding anti-King ammunition to Southerners who despised the civil rights leader — all by way of revealing "tidbits" picked up through the wiretaps and buggings?

Was Clark unaware that certain FBI officials were roaming the country leaking to newspaper editors poisonous stories about Dr. King and what the buggings allegedly had revealed?

Everybody else in Washington of any consequence knew it, and many deplored it, but no one seemed to know how to go about making the FBI bend to the laws of the land.

There is a not-too-flippant assumption in Washington that J. Edgar Hoover has been FBI director for 45 years because all the recent Presidents have assumed that he knew too much about them to be replaced. So not only was he not replaced by any of the younger, very able FBI men in the normal course of things, but Presidents Johnson and Nixon have felt it wise or expedient to waive a law saying Hoover has reached the rocking-chair age.

Hoover ought to be replaced as FBI director — immediately.

As Washington agency heads go, Hoover may have done a better job than most. But the people of this country knew something when they elected the time one man might serve in the presidency. They saw personal fiefdoms as inimical to the democracy, the personal freedom, that we have come to cherish.

If it is dangerous to have one man serve three full terms as President, it is far more dangerous to have one man take lifetime possession of a powerful police-investigative agency that prods into the deepest secrets of the most prominent, most honored citizens and has the power to discredit, even destroy, almost anyone. The kind of abuse of and contempt for the law manifest in the King and Muhammad eavesdropping become almost inevitable when a man is left in a key job as long as Hoover has been.

Were Hoover a more thoughtful man, or as concerned about the preservation of democracy and liberty as his speeches suggest, he would have resigned long ago. He would not keep putting Presidents in the political bind of deciding to keep him or ease him out.

It is clear Hoover has no intention of resigning. So why does the President muster the courage to say: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Goodbye,?"

Should I call the FBI out?

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

Should I call the FBI out?  
C. C. ...

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) E-4
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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Date JUN 13 1969

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- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Law and Order

The FBI admitted in federal district court at Houston that it engaged in unlawful wiretapping on the telephone of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. right up until the time of the assassination. What this country needs more of is respect for the law, we have heard so many times in the sermons of J. Edgar Hoover. What he really means, we gather, is that everybody except the FBI should respect the law.

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Page 4 A

Arkansas Gazette

Little Rock, Ark.

Date: 6-14-69

Edition: AM

Author: ea

Editor: J. N. Heiskel

Title: ARK GAZETTE

Public Relations

Character:

or

Classification: 80-338-

Submitting Office: Little

Being Investigated

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Laurence Stern and Richard Harwood A-27

# 'King Tape' Emerges From Legend To Underline a Danger to Liberties

FOR SEVERAL years a piece of Washington apocrypha known as "the Martin Luther King tape" was the subject of sly and ugly surmise among certain journalistic insiders. There are those who claim to have had The Tape played for them by obliging law enforcement officials. Others are said to have been given transcripts of a gathering, bugged by Government investigators, at which Dr. King and friends were present.

It was one of those repugnant but enduring stories that cling to controversial public figures. The FBI and Justice Department steadfastly denied knowing anything specific about electronic surveillance of Dr. King. Shoulders would shrug, eyebrows would arch knowingly, fingers would point discreetly in other directions. And FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover contented himself with attacking the civil rights leader as "the most notorious liar in the country."

Now the unseemly truth is out. It emerged in the form of sworn testimony by FBI agents in a Houston Federal courtroom in the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay, now Muhammad Ali. The agents acknowledged that they had snooped on Dr. King for a period of several years.

The gist of the testimony was that a group of men—one of them a 22-year-old FBI clerk—sat in air-conditioned rooms and listened to the private conversations of this prominent American without the faintest shred of legitimacy or sufficient cause.

"I WAS told to write down whatever I heard that I would consider of value," testified FBI agent C. Barry Pickett in words that should be engraved on some monument to our time. After four years of eavesdropping eight hours a day, five days a week on the telephone conversations of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, Pickett was elevated from clerk to agent.

Why was Dr. King under surveillance? No one has said. But it may be significant that the snooping began at a time when he criticized the FBI for assigning Southern agents to protect civil rights workers in the South. It is also ironic that this seemingly gratuitous invasion of Dr. King's personal life occurred at a time when many high-rank

ing members of the Justice Department would have expressed nothing less than roaring outrage at the thought that his phone was being tapped by Government agents. It was the time, in other words, when Robert F. Kennedy was Attorney General of the United States.

After the disclosure last week, there was an understandable rush to disavow responsibility for electronic pursuit of Dr. King. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark denied authorizing any wiretaps or bugs against Dr. King or Elijah Muhammad while he headed the Justice Department. His predecessor, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach declined to say anything publicly.

- Tolson
- DeLoach
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- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

*Handwritten notes:*  
P. Miller  
H. B. S.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_ A-2
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 11 1969  
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57 AUG 18 1969

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Did Robert Kennedy know? The FBI's only recorded comment on the affair was to refer questioners to Hoover's testimony over a period of years that each bug was authorized in writing before installation by the Attorney General. And the Justice Department last week described Hoover's testimony as "accurate in every respect." Inferentially, the FBI is saying that Mr. Kennedy knew and approved. Sen. Kennedy was questioned during the Oregon primary in 1968 about the charge that he ordered Dr. King's phone tapped and his reply was equivocal.

IN JUNE, 1965, President Johnson issued an executive order prohibiting wiretapping except in "national se-

curity" investigations. In his testimony Hoover speaks of "internal security" matters.

What constitutes "internal security," this column asked of an FBI spokesman. "It has to speak for itself," he replied.

There is a spectacular ambiguity about it all.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell now intends to use the authority conferred on him by Congress last year to use wiretaps in the wide variety of cases permitted under the new Omnibus Crime Act.

When you consider the scope of the blatantly illegal wiretapping carried out by Government agents during the past few years it boggles the mind to consider how pervasive official snooping might become once it was legitimized by local courts at the behest of local prosecutors. During the second half of 1968, for example, state officials obtained 174 wiretapping warrants, all but seven of them in New York where authorities used wiretapping for such suspected offenses as larceny and gambling.

It is chilling to contemplate the size of the electronic dragnet that might be thrown over American citizens in the name of stamping out suspected gambling violations.

Yet President Nixon and his Attorney General have embraced the new Federal eavesdropping law with resounding public enthusiasm. They may rue it when the returns start coming in.

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Letters to the Editor

Published letters are subject to condensation, and those not selected for publication will be returned only when accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes. The use of pen names is limited to correspondents whose identity is known to The Star.

## Rowan and Hoover

SIR: The evolution of the King-Hoover-Rowan wire-tap controversy, or, as it may come to be known, "The Case of the Shifting Premise," is a most interesting one.

As the ball began rolling and rumors began to circulate that Robert F. Kennedy had authorized the tap on Dr. King's phone, the standard reply was that anyone who believed that Kennedy would actually authorize such a thing must have rocks in his head. Then, lo and behold, it turned out that RFK had indeed authorized the tap and we were told that the issue now is not: Did Kennedy authorize the tap; but did he in fact request it? And we were told that anyone thinking RFK would request a tap on King's phone must have rocks in his head.

Now, as evidence mounts that Kennedy not only authorized the tap on King's phone but requested it as well, one can imagine the sophistry which will greet this latest revelation: "Well, certainly, Kennedy requested the tap on Dr. King's phone and, sure, he authorized it; but the real issue is who physically attached the tap to the phone. And if you think Kennedy would personally attach a wiretap to Martin Luther King's phone then you must . . ."

John D. Lofton, Jr.

SIR: Columnist Carl Rowan, in his recent diatribes against J. Edgar Hoover, became extremely monotonous and completely unconvincing. The FBI director has long distinguished himself, not only for his ability but also for being the first FBI leader to introduce the use of legal methods into the work of the bureau with the object of making the evidence hold in a court of law. From the beginning of his career, it is worth knowing, Hoover also demanded and received the promise of officials over him that the FBI should be kept free of politics, a promise that has always kept, or the bureau could never have been as effective. In recognition of his highly efficient innovations of technical and professional improvements, Mr. Hoover has received hundreds of awards from the heads of various foreign security service agencies throughout the world as well as from police organizations within this country.

As an experienced newsman and former high government official, doesn't Mr. Rowan know that the Attorney General always has to sign any request for wiretapping of surveillance by the FBI? As a strict observer of legal methods and a lawyer himself, Mr. Hoover would be far too experienced and wise to run into that kind of an error.

Mr. Rowan has shown himself quite adept at character assassination himself in trying to persuade the public that we are rapidly proceeding toward a police state under the direction of Mr. Hoover. If Mr. Rowan were more factual than emotional in his statements, he would know that a potential police state would have put down the riots in 1967 with force of arms and a large death toll, such as have taken place in other countries before a police state takes over.

J. M.

*M. L. ...*  
*Bl...*

*... as Luther King*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Evening Star (Washington)
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

EX-114

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Date JUL 10 1969

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SIR: Carl Rowan rates a Pulitzer for his courageous presentation on the FBI. It's about time somebody had the guts to lift the rock and start to expose what crawls under it.

William T. Plimpton.

Arlington, Va.

SIR: I am at a loss to understand why a writer of Carl Rowan's caliber is allowed to write as he does in my favorite newspaper. Anyone but a fool can read the underlying vein in his columns.

What would we do without J. Edgar Hoover? I say thank God we have him. Too bad we haven't more like him than some of these patsies we have around.

E. L. L.

SIR: Carl Rowan's charges against Mr. Hoover have backfired on Carl Rowan.

Elizabeth M. Caryer.

Silver Spring, Md.

SIR: As a columnist Rowan's effectiveness has been destroyed, if he was ever effective. His writings stamp him a racist and destructive critic.

Any attack, such as he made, on J. Edgar Hoover, who is a symbol of patriotism to the American people, reflects the thinking and bitterness that this man holds for our society.

The FBI has been working diligently trying to expose all of the people that are determined to undermine and destroy not only the liberty and freedom of our people but our country. They have protected the rights of all loyal, honest citizens by exposing the criminals, the traitors, the communists, the revolutionists and others who would overthrow our republic to justify their alleged inequities. An honest, law abiding, loyal American does not fear personal surveillance or electronic listening devices.

George J. Luckey.

SIR: That Carl Rowan's grapes are sour is obvious! At the same time, how ingrate can you get? Hoover has devoted his life to the service of his country; and I'd still accept his evaluations over Rowan's any day! I'm sick of the most highly overworked term of our day, "Racism."

R. S. S.

SIR: Now that J. Edgar Hoover has informed us that Carl Rowan is a "racist," it may be timely to recall the Director's characterization of the late Dr. King as "the most notorious liar in the country." It would seem, from the quality and substance of Mr. Hoover's remarks, and the apparent adoption of the KGB-style institutional philosophy by the FBI, that the above epithets should be more properly applied to their originator.

R. P. Grimes.

SIR: Carl T. Rowan has been making assertions all over the place—among them is that he is not a CIA agent. So what?

Considering his seemingly irresponsible assertions, rumors and name-calling tactics I suspect that the real deal is that he is an FBI agent. He is studiously making a public commotion so that he can truly work undercover for the FBI on some future assignment.

Now I think this is about as good a rumor as any of Rowan's; and I acknowledge starting it without help of the FBI or the CIA. The more I think of it the more I like it because I think it could be some justification for Rowan carrying on the way he has.

Robert E. Trimble.

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- Holmes
- Gandy

# Contempt of Law

esa

Why did the Federal Bureau of Investigation tap the telephone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.? The tapping was disclosed, beyond any contradiction, in testimony given on Wednesday in a Federal District Court. It violated an Act of Congress, the Federal Communications Act. It violated the repeated assertion by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that his agency tapped telephones only in national security cases.

John S. Martin, an attorney in the U.S. Solicitor General's office, acknowledged in court that the civil rights leader had been under FBI electronic surveillance in 1964 and 1965 and that the four FBI wiretaps made of telephone conversations in which he participated were illegal. There can be no doubt whatever as to the illegality of these wiretaps. In point of fact, the Government did not choose to contest their illegality.

Mr. Hoover has said many times that his agency taps no telephones without express authorization from the Attorney General. Did Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, a distinguished champion of civil rights, authorize surveillance, in clear violation of law, of the country's most respected civil rights leader?

Mr. Hoover has said many times, in congressional hearings and in public statements, that his agency taps no telephones except in cases affecting the country's security. Will he assert that he believed the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King presented a peril to national security? He has indicated on past occasions that he takes an elastic, and sometimes a very confused, view of national security. But Martin Luther King?

It is no light matter to have the law flouted by the country's foremost investigating agency. Contempt for the law by public agencies and public officials breeds contempt for the law by the public itself. Worse still, a contemptuous disregard for the privacy and the essential freedom of American citizens strikes dangerously at the foundations of American life. The American people cannot afford to let J. Edgar Hoover be a law unto himself, no matter how valuable his past public service. A people careless of fundamental rights can hardly be said to deserve those rights at all.

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 C. J. Malone  
 H. G. [unclear]

- The Washington Post Times Herald A-24
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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Date JUN 9 1969

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# Wiretaps on Dr. King Made After Johnson

By MARTIN WALDRON  
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, June 6 — Testimony in Federal District Court has indicated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation continued to wiretap the telephone of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Elijah Muhammad after former President Johnson ordered an end to wiretaps except those authorized by the Attorney General for "national security" reasons.

The implication was that the F.B.I. either ignored the Presidential order or that Dr. King, the assassinated civil rights leader, and Mr. Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader, were being surveyed in connection with some security case.

The F.B.I. refused to comment. Aides of Mr. Johnson did not reply immediately to a request for clarification from him.

On June 30, 1965, President Johnson, in an "administratively confidential" memorandum to all Government departments, said that the "invasion of privacy of communications is a highly offensive practice which should be engaged in only where the national security is at stake."

No telephone tap, including those for national security reasons, could be maintained without prior approval of the Attorney General, the President said.

But Robert Nichols, special agent of the Atlanta F.B.I. office, testified this week at a hearing here that he had supervised a wiretap on the home telephone of Dr. King.

### Responds to Question

"I wasn't on it except until May, 1965," Mr. Nichols said.

Charles Morgan Jr., Southern director of the American Civil Liberties Union, then asked, "And the wiretap on Martin King's calls continued until his death on April 4, 1968?" Mr. Nichols replied:

"It was my understanding that it went on."

C. Barry Pickett, a special agent in the F.B.I. office at Jacksonville, Fla., testified that he

had been a clerk in the Phoenix, Ariz., office of the F.B.I. from May, 1962, until May, 1966.

His assignment, he said, was to listen to the conversations of Black Muslim leaders.

The F.B.I. had a microphone in Mr. Muhammad's home as well as a wiretap on his telephone, Mr. Pickett said.

Neither Mr. Nichols, Mr. Pickett, nor Mr. Pickett's former superior, Frederick J. Brownell, a retired special agent, was required to testify as to the purpose of the wiretaps.

District Judge Joe Ingraham referred to the wiretaps as being illegal. But he said that if it were found that Cassius Clay had been convicted of draft dodging by the use of illegally gathered evidence it would not be necessary to decide the reasons for the wiretaps.

The wiretap testimony was presented as Judge Ingraham heard the appeal of Clay from his conviction in June, 1967. Clay alleges that the Government used "tainted" evidence.

Testimony in the appeal of the former heavyweight boxing champion from a five-year sentence was concluded yesterday. Judge Ingraham asked the two sides to submit briefs within two weeks. He said that he might ask for additional testimony after reading the briefs.

Mr. Pickett, who was one of a half dozen F.B.I. employees assigned to eavesdrop on Mr. Muhammad, said that he had been told to record all conversations at Mr. Muhammad's home but that he had to make a synopsis only of what he considered to be "pertinent facts."

Attorneys for the Department of Justice fought for two days in Judge Ingraham's court to try to bar public disclosure of their wiretaps or anything connected with them.

The existence of the wiretaps was disclosed in the Supreme Court in March when the Solicitor General's office acknowledged that the F.B.I. had monitored five conversations involving Clay. Only one, the Government said, had been approved by the Attorney General and

that one was involved in the gathering of "foreign intelligence information."

The Government lawyers argued that the four others should also be kept secret because "the unauthorized dissemination of the facts relating to these surveillances would prejudice the national interests and might prejudice the interest of third parties."

The Government attorneys, John S. Martin Jr. and Michael Epstein from the Justice Department, and United States Attorney Anthony J. P. Farris of Houston, said that their reasons for wanting the records kept secret could not even be advanced in open court.

After a closed session lasting 30 minutes, Judge Ingraham upheld the Government's position on the wiretap that involved "foreign intelligence," but he admitted the synopses of the four other wiretaps into evidence.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell has signed an affidavit stating that disclosure of the wiretap that involved foreign intelligence could prejudice the national interest. He did not mention the four other wiretaps.

None of the records of the four other wiretaps bore a date later than June 30, 1965, when

President Johnson's order on wiretaps was issued.

The record of the conversation between Clay, who is also known as Muhammad Ali, and Dr. King was dated Sept. 4, 1964. The dates on the records of the conversation between the former boxer and Mr. Muhammad were in 1964 and early 1965.

Not until Mr. Morgan cross-examined the F.B.I. agents was it uncovered that the wiretaps had probably extended beyond the June 30, 1965, date.

Judge Ingraham ruled that the F.B.I. agents did not have to testify when the wiretap surveillances began or ended, but he allowed Mr. Morgan to establish that the wiretaps had continued at least into 1966. The attorney said he was trying to find out if other conversations of Clay's had been monitored but not reported on by the Government.

**Ban**

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Mr. Martin and Mr. Epstein declined to comment on the wiretaps or to give their reasons why the disclosure of them would not be in the national interest.

In Washington, the F.B.I. refused to acknowledge that the conversations of Dr. King and Mr. Muhammad had been monitored even though F.B.I. agents had already so testified.

- The Washington Post Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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Date JUN 7 1969

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UPI-142

(KING)

ATLANTA--A PROPOSAL TO COMMEMORATE THE BIRTHDAY OF  
 MARTIN LUTHER KING FAILED IN A VOICE VOTE BY GEORGIA  
 LEGISLATORS TODAY.

REP. J. C. DAUGHERTY HAD ASKED THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 TO ADD KING'S BIRTHDAY, JAN. 15, TO A BILL DESIGNATING FIVE  
 STATE HOLIDAYS. THE AMENDMENT WAS QUICKLY VOTED DOWN.  
 EARLIER IN THE SESSION, SEN. LEROY JOHNSON FAILED IN A BID  
 TO HAVE JAN. 15 SET ASIDE AS AN OFFICIAL "DAY OF MEMORY."  
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REC-1

# City Asked to Observe Dr. King's Anniversary

By George Davis  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The newly formed District of Columbia Statehood Committee called yesterday for the closing of stores and offices on April 4 for a citywide observance of the anniversary of the slaying of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

The appeal was the first public action of the Committee, whose larger goal is statehood for the District by 1971.

The Rev. Douglas Moore, the president, said that a holiday honoring Dr. King would mean as much to Negroes as other holidays mean to other racial groups.

He added that the Committee had sent letters to the Washington Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce asking their cooperation during the April 4 observance. Mr. Moore said he had not received replies from either body as to how much cooperation the Committee could expect.

Mr. Moore added that a call would be made for "Black people especially not to buy Easter finery this year in stores of the D.C.'s downtown plantation."

Mr. Moore did not say if

District activities will be coordinated with national efforts by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy to honor the slain civil rights leader with a national holiday.

Attending the news conference yesterday were about 50 students, spectators and members of the Committee. With Mr. Moore were C. Sumner (Chuck) Stone of the Black United Front; James Jackson, president of Jackson Laboratories Inc.; the Rev. Jesse Anderson of the Southeast Enrichment Center and four Freedom School students representing the Committee.

Reading from a "Manifesto for the 51st State of the Union," Mr. Moore said "statehood for the District is a natural right which can no longer be denied."

He added that residents of the District are suffering taxation without representation, and that the population of the District is larger than that of 11 states. The refusal of Congress to grant statehood to the District "is based solely on the fact that a majority of the residents are black," Mr. Moore said.

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A B F U K I O

- The Washington Post Times Herald 17
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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Date MAR 12 1969

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# 'Dr. King Holiday' Urged for 'Good Friday' Here

By SHARON STONE  
 The newly formed District of Columbia Statehood Committee announced a drive to make the District the 51st state by 1971 yesterday and declared that April 4, Good Friday, should be a holiday marking the first anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination.

Rev. Moore said his group had tried to get Rev. Walter Fauntroy appointed chairman of the D.C. City Council for failing that had gone to Capitol Hill to testify against President Nixon's appointment of Gilbert Hahn, Jr.

He said that the present city council has six members who live west of 16th-st, three living east of the Anacostia River, and none from the center of the city where 500,000 people live.

"If we were a state, this would already have been done," Rev. Douglas Moore, chairman of the group said.

### MANIFESTO

He said at a press conference that telegrams asking merchants to close their stores on that day had been sent to the presidents of the Board of Trade and the D.C. Chamber of Commerce.

"That means that a Caucasian-colored coalition can make all of the decisions for the District at a cocktail party."

"We expect the merchants to comply with this request," said Rev. Moore, who was defeated when he ran at-large recently for the District school board.

The committee issued a manifesto calling for statehood for the District at the press conference at the Freedom School annex of Eastern High School. It pointed out that the District has a larger population than 11 of the 51 states.

He said that his group would announce plans for activities on April 4 suitable as a memorial to Dr. King "who died to make us free."

It further charged that the District residents were denied self-government by powerful racists in Congress determined to keep black people from voting.

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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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# Mrs. King, SCLC Cleared Ray Sentence, Officials Say

By Paul W. Valentine  
Washington Post Staff Writer

MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 11 — Court officials in Memphis said today the controversial disposition of the James Earl Ray case was cleared in advance with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and with Coretta King, widow of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Under the agreement that Mrs. King and SCLC officials reportedly approved, Ray was given a 99-year prison sentence—without a trial—after pleading guilty to the assassination of Dr. King last April 4.

Justice Department officials in Washington were notified of the plan in advance and raised no objections, it was learned.

## Ray's speedy sentencing

Monday, without a prolonged presentation of evidence in the case, stirred widespread controversy.

Some Negro leaders charged that the arrangement was a "cover up" to prevent disclosure of a conspiracy behind the assassination. Mrs. King herself and some SCLC officials also contended that Ray was part of a conspiracy.

There was also criticism of the arrangement from such papers as The New York Times, which said the decision not to air the full case in public was "a shocking breach of faith with the American people."

Officials involved in the case here, however, said the decision to dispense with the trial in exchange for Ray's guilty plea was based on a variety of considerations, including the consent of Mrs. King and SCLC leaders. They said—as Justice Department officials in Washington have said—that there was no evidence of a conspiracy that could have been presented.

The agreement, in the judgment of the court officials, met the Nation's requirement of justice.

The approach to Mrs. King was made by the Tennessee prosecutor, Phil Canale, through her lawyer. Canale also consulted, it was reported here, directly with officials of SCLC, the civil rights organization Dr. King led at the time of his murder.

"He (Canale) wanted to get their general feeling about the agreement," a highly placed official said. "Mind you, what they said was not controlling. We often consult with the family and relatives about the sentence arrangement, even in routine cases."

He said Mrs. King and SCLC "generally agreed" with the decision to avoid a trial although "some of the SCLC officials said they wanted to reserve their right to claim there was a conspiracy behind Ray."

After Ray's sentencing on Monday, Mrs. King made no specific criticism of the arrangement. She said, "For the moment we have been spared a trial which would compel us to relive the fearfully tragic events of his death. But we realize this is but a respite."

She went on to urge that both Tennessee and Federal authorities continue their investigation "until all who are responsible for this crime are apprehended."

Dr. King's successor as head of SCLC, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, issued a similar statement.

Ray's formal plea of guilty to murder in the first degree got him a 99-year sentence, which bars him from parole eligibility until the year 2018, when he would be 90 years old.

If he had been given a straight life sentence, he

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Date MAR 12 1969

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would have been eligible for parole in 12½ years.

It is known that during delicate negotiations with court and prosecution officials, Ray's attorney, Percy Foreman, asked Judge W. Preston Battle whether he would impose the lighter sentence.

Judge Battle reportedly refused that proposal and said he would impose no less a sentence than 99 years because "the crime was too great."

Prosecutor Canale, according to court sources, also felt that the 99-year requirement was non-negotiable.

Foreman was in a weak bargaining position, it was said, because he knew the case against Ray was "airtight" and Ray "might have gotten the chair" if he had gone to trial before a jury.

Dr. King was shot with a rifle on the evening of April 4 as he stood on a balcony of the motel at which he was staying in downtown Memphis.

A rifle found outside a rooming house across the street from the motel balcony led to Ray's eventual arrest in London on June 8, 1968.

At the time of his arrest—and subsequently—there were widespread rumors that Ray had been the instrument of a conspiracy to assassinate Dr. King. These rumors were encouraged by Ray himself in interviews with the writer, William Bradford Huie, who paid Ray more than \$30,000 for exclusive rights to his story. And at the time of his sentencing on Monday, Ray said in court he could "not accept" the official theory that there was no conspiracy.

However, Justice Department officials and the FBI, as well as the Tennessee prosecutors, insist that there is no evidence that Ray had any accomplices.

Prosecutor Canale said that if any evidence of a conspiracy comes to light "the conspirators will be promptly and vigorously prosecuted."



Associated Press

James Earl Ray is led in chains to State Prison in Nashville.

# SCLC Sets Nationwide Demonstrations to Mark King's Death

By Bruce Galphin

Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, March 19—A nationwide week of demonstrations focused on "poverty, racism and war" will mark the first anniversary of the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

A partial list of the East Week activities was announced here today by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Dr. King's successor as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Mr. Abernathy and other SCLC officials listed 19 cities where observances have been planned, and said there would be many more.

Special symbolic programs will be conducted in cities that had particular significance in Dr. King's career: Memphis, where he was slain April 4 a year ago; Montgomery, where

his leadership of a bus boycott 14 years ago catapulted him into national prominence; Selma, Ala., where the heavy hand of state resistance helped pass civil rights legislation, and Atlanta, his birthplace and home at the time of his death.

### Report Planned

Mr. Abernathy said the demonstrations beginning April 4, which is Good Friday, will "launch the second chapter of the Poor People's Campaign."

Later this spring, he said, the "Committee of 100" will reassemble in Washington to restate its demands and deliver a report entitled "The Poor People's Campaign—One Year Later."

The form of the Easter Week observances will vary widely.

As one SCLC staffer explained it, affiliates will "turn on to the local issues."

That may mean school walk-outs in some cities, demonstrations at welfare offices in others, peace vigils and boycotts for jobs in still others.

### National Tag Day

The SCLC is planning a major staff effort in Alabama this summer. Mr. Abernathy said the April 4-12 activities there would launch a massive program against poverty that would last "months, if necessary."

In addition to individual city projects, a National Tag Day will be observed throughout the country Saturday, April 5. Lapel tags bearing Dr. King's picture and the words "I Gave" will be sold that day to support SCLC work.

In Chicago, Atlanta and other cities, the SCLC also is supporting "Black Easter" a program of wearing old clothes, giving to the poor, refraining from purchase of lux-

uries, and boycotting department stores that discriminate against black people.

Formal observance of Dr. King's assassination will begin Friday, April 4, with a service and arch in Memphis, where the SCLC will join efforts with the municipal workers' union that Dr. King was aiding when he was shot. A three-day vigil will begin the same day at the State Capitol in Atlanta starting at 7 p.m.

the hour of Dr. King's death. Also on Friday, there will be a vigil and protest at the United Nations, march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, and a candlelight service in Montgomery.

### March in Montgomery

On Saturday, Mr. Abernathy will lead a march to the Alabama Capitol in Montgomery for a noontime service.

In Atlanta on Sunday he will lead a march from Dr.

King's church, Ebenezer Baptist, to Hurt Park in collaboration with several peace groups.

Other cities where various commemorations and protests will be conducted, the SCLC said, are Raleigh, New Orleans, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Houston, Tallahassee, Cleveland, Richmond, Hopewell, Va., and Petersburg, Va.

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- The Washington Post Times Herald A-5
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
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*C. Moore*

**D.C. FIRMS URGED TO CLOSE  
 APRIL 4 IN HONOR OF KING**

All stores and businesses in the District of Columbia will be asked by a black power group to close their doors on Good Friday, April 4, the first anniversary of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination.

The announcement was made at the initial press conference of the District of Columbia Statehood Committee, a group formed to obtain self-government for the District "by whatever means necessary."

The spokesman for the committee was the Rev. Douglas Moore. Committee members appearing with him included James Jackson, unsuccessful candidate for the school board; the Rev. Jesse Anderson; C. Sumner (Chuck) Stone; and three Eastern High School Freedom School students.

In a press release Moore asked the people of Washington to "make their witness to the ideals of the Resurrection and two great prophets Jesus Christ and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., "by celebrating a "Black Easter." The observance is to include a refusal to buy Easter finery in the stores of D.C.'s downtown plantation," the statement said.

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# Mercy Plea Made for Ray at Rites for King

## Abernathy Asks That Jan. 15, Civil Rights Leader's Birthday, Be Declared a Holiday

BY JACK NELSON  
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA—An impassioned plea that the life of the killer of Dr. Martin Luther King be spared and that Dr. King's birthday—Jan. 15—be declared a national holiday were made here Wednesday at ceremonies commemorating the civil rights leader's 40th birthday.

Dr. King's widow and parents nodded agreement as the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, Dr. King's successor as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, urged "the forces of goodwill throughout the land to exert their total influence in seeing to it that the life of James Earl Ray, or whoever is proven to have pulled the trigger that felled our sainted and beloved leader, is spared."

Ray, 40, accused of assassinating Dr. King in Memphis last April 4, is scheduled to go on trial for murder here on March 3.

### Unusual Demand

Prior to the service at Ebenezer Baptist Church, where Mr. Abernathy made his appeal, a national television audience of 10 million people watched the news. Martin Luther King Sr., an old-time civil rights leader, called for a war of attrition.

The two black members of the 54-man senate—Leroy Johnson and Horace Ward—participated in the brief program. Except for one segregationist member (Roy Noble) who walked out, the senate listened attentively.

Ward quoted from Dr. King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 march on Washington and Johnson introduced to the senators Rev. King Sr.; Rosa Parks of Detroit, who sparked the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott that propelled Dr. King to civil rights leadership; the Rev. Walter Fauntroy, vice mayor of Washington and head of SCLC's office there, and several African officials.

### Aids Groundbreaking

The visitors were welcomed by Lt. Gov. George T. Smith, who later participated in ground-breaking ceremonies for the \$2.5 million Martin Luther King Jr. Village, a model community and housing development sponsored by SCLC and the Ebenezer Baptist Church. It will be constructed under the National Housing Act.

Earlier Monday, Mrs. Coretta King, Dr. King's widow, told a press conference that a Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center will be developed in Atlanta around two locations—the Auburn Ave. area of the Ebenezer Church and the house where he was born two blocks away, and the area of Atlanta University, where he was graduated from Morehouse College.

Mrs. King estimated the total cost at between \$25 to \$40 million and said the money would be raised through foundations and private and corporate donations.

The remains of Dr. King now in Southview Cemetery, will be permanently interred in a memorial park that will be part of the Auburn Ave. development, she said.

Almost 1,000 persons crammed into the Ebenezer Church and another 2,000 stood outside or sat in an annex and listened to Monday's program over loudspeakers. Dr. King was co-pastor of the church at the time of his death.

Actor Harry Belafonte, a longtime friend of the Kings and a board member of SCLC, sat in the front row beside the widow and her four children. He applauded Mr. Abernathy's call for sparing the life of Dr. King's killer.

Mr. Abernathy said it would be "needless to kill one man for the sin of millions. For us to kill all of those who are truly guilty of crime, Dr. King's life would be guilty of mass murder, perpetrating an atrocity no less than that of Adolf Hitler."

Excepting the killer "would not deal with our

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I-25 Los Angeles Times  
Los Angeles, Calif.

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pages*

Date: 1/16/69  
Edition: Home  
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Editor: Nick B. Williams  
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Submitting Office: LOS ANGELES

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major problem, only with the symptom of our problem," Mr. Abernathy said, adding that the real problem is that the nation has "concentrated on violence and we are saturated with hate."

Mr. Abernathy noted that no day is set aside in the United States to honor a black man and he said that Congress, by making

Jan. 15 a legal holiday, could help blacks by "enriching our heritage in America and strengthening our faith in the democratic system."

U.S. Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), a Negro, said that last year he had 53 sponsors for a bill declaring the day a holiday and that he is again sponsoring the legislation and has found increased support for it.

#### "Sacred Holiday"

Cleveland Robinson of New York, president of the Negro American Labor Council, said, "It should be a sacred holiday in the sense and for the purpose that we are here today."

"We don't want anyone to believe we hope Congress will do this," he

added, "we're just sayin', 't's black people in America just ain't gonna work on that day anymore."

The remark prompted a standing ovation. Except for its lone Negro member, who stood and applauded, members of the Georgia Tech Glee Club, who participated in the program, remained seated.

Theodore Hibbler, an elderly sanitation worker from Memphis, recalled that Dr. King was in that city to give sanitation workers leadership in their drive for better working conditions when he was assassinated.

"We'll never forget his leadership," Hibbler said. "He gave his life for what some people would call the least of Memphis, which is the sanitation workers."

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# King Holiday Plea Pressed By Abernathy

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 (UPI) —The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy today opened a national campaign to have Congress and the President recognize the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as the Nation's first Negro hero.

Abernathy, at a news conference in Harlem, said he hopes to have a million signatures on a petition to have King's birthday, Jan. 15, declared a national holiday.

"Such a declaration," he said, would give pride to the black people of this country and provide President-elect Nixon with a chance to perform his "first act of atonement for the backward step he took in not appointing a Negro to his cabinet."

Abernathy, who succeeded King as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, asserted that King contributed as much to the Nation as Washington and Lincoln.

"At no time during the year," Abernathy added, "does this Nation pause to pay respect to the life and work of a black man."

He said that demonstrations would be held in 250 cities on Wednesday to gather names for the petition to be presented to Congress and the President.

[Associated Press reported that Mayor Hugh Addonizio of Newark, N.J., where 35 persons died in ghetto rioting in 1967, ordered flags flown at half-staff on all city public buildings Wednesday and called on all citizens to honor Dr. King's memory.]

*L King*

*W. Case*

The Washington Post Times Herald A-1  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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CHICAGO (UPI)--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., IN HIS LAST PUBLISHED WORK, SAID AMERICA IS "TRAGICALLY UNPREPARED" TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF RACE RELATIONS AND POVERTY.

THE NEGRO LEADER SHOT DOWN IN MEMPHIS, TENN., IN APRIL SAID, HOWEVER, HE WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT JUSTICE FOR ALL BLACK PEOPLE WOULD COME, BUT NOT "WITHOUT RADICAL CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF OUR SOCIETY."

"THE NATION WAITED UNTIL THE BLACK MAN WAS EXPLOSIVE WITH FURY BEFORE STIRRING ITSELF EVEN TO PARTIAL CONCERN," KING WROTE.

"CONFRONTED NOW WITH THE INTERRELATED PROBLEMS OF WAR, INFLATION, URBAN DECAY, WHITE BACKLASH AND A CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE, IT IS NOW FORCED TO ADDRESS ITSELF TO RACE RELATIONS AND POVERTY, AND IT IS TRAGICALLY UNPREPARED.

"WHAT MIGHT ONCE HAVE BEEN A SERIES OF SEPARATE PROBLEMS NOW MERGE INTO A SOCIAL CRISIS OF ALMOST STUPEFYING COMPLEXITY."

IN A "TESTAMENT OF HOPE" PUBLISHED IN THE 15TH HOLIDAY ANNIVERSARY ISSUE OF PLAYBOY MAGAZINE, THE NEGRO ADVOCATE OF NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE INDICTED PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON FOR THEIR FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES; URGED MORE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER FOR THE NEGRO, AND SAID SOLUTIONS TO HIS PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS "MUST BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND RATIONAL" AND THAT RIOTING ACCOMPLISHES NOTHING.

"I AM NOT SAD THAT BLACK AMERICANS ARE REBELLING," HE SAID. "THIS WAS NOT ONLY INEVITABLE BUT EMINENTLY DESIRABLE. WITHOUT THIS MAGNIFICENT FERMENT AMONG NEGROES, THE OLD EVASIONS AND PROCRASTINATIONS WOULD HAVE CONTINUED INDEFINITELY. . . THESE ARE OUR BRIGHT YEARS OF EMERGENCE; THOUGH THEY ARE PAINFUL ONES, THEY CANNOT BE AVOIDED."

KING, CASTIGATED BY MILITANT BLACKS FOR MOVING TOO SLOW ON RACIAL ISSUES, SAID, "NO PRESIDENT HAS REALLY DONE VERY MUCH FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO." HE SAID PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON RECEIVED MUCH UNDESERVED CREDIT FOR HELPING NEGROES.

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"THIS CREDIT HAS ACCRUED TO LYNDON JOHNSON AND JOHN KENNEDY ONLY BECAUSE IT WAS DURING THEIR ADMINISTRATIONS THAT NEGROES BEGAN DOING MORE FOR THEMSELVES.

"KENNEDY DIDN'T VOLUNTARILY SUBMIT A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, NOR DID LYNDON JOHNSON. IN FACT, BOTH TOLD US AT ONE TIME THAT SUCH LEGISLATION WAS IMPOSSIBLE."

HE CRITICIZED THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S MILITARY BUILDUP AND THE U.S. ROLE IN VIETNAM AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC INTERVENTION. HE CHARGED THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP IS "AMAZINGLY DEVOID OF STATESMANSHIP; AND WHEN CREATIVE STATESMANSHIP WANES, IRRATIONAL MILITARISM INCREASES.

"IN THIS SENSE, PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS FAR MORE OF A STATESMAN THAN PRESIDENT JOHNSON. HE WAS A MAN WHO WAS BIG ENOUGH TO ADMIT WHEN HE WAS WRONG--AS HE DID AFTER THE BAY OF PIGS INCIDENT. BUT LYNDON JOHNSON SEEMS TO BE UNABLE TO MAKE THIS KIND OF STATESMANLIKE GESTURE IN CONNECTION WITH VIETNAM."

IN CITING PROGRESS OF THE BLACK MAN, KING SAID "WHEN DOUBTS EMERGE, WE CAN REMEMBER THAT ONLY YESTERDAY NEGROES WERE NOT ONLY GROSSLY EXPLOITED BUT NEGATED AS HUMAN BEINGS. THEY WERE INVISIBLE IN THEIR MISERY.

"BUT THE SULLEN AND SILENT SLAVE OF 110 YEARS AGO, AN OBJECT OF SCORN AT WORST OR OF PITY AT BEST, IS TODAY'S ANGRY MAN. HE IS VIBRANTLY ON THE MOVE; HE IS FORCING CHANGE, RATHER THAN WAITING FOR IT IN PATHETIC FUTILITY.

"IN LESS THAN TWO DECADES, HE HAS ROARED OUT OF SLUMBER TO CHANGE SO MANY OF HIS LIFE'S CONDITIONS THAT HE MAY YET FIND THE MEANS TO ACCELERATE HIS MARCH FORWARD AND OVERTAKE THE RACING LOCOMOTIVE OF HISTORY."

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD  
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

[Illegible text follows, appearing to be a list of names and titles, possibly related to a committee or board. The text is extremely faint and difficult to decipher, but appears to include names such as 'LYNCH', 'LEGISLATION', 'AND', 'STATE', 'JULIUS', 'PRESIDENT', 'WAS', 'JOHN', 'IN', 'VE', 'EXPERI', 'FIS', 'COGN', 'ON', 'PAT', 'SO', 'ACC', 'HIGH']

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**Dr. King Is Rated Best  
 Among Negro Leaders**

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., assassinated Nobel Peace Prize winner, is the Negro leader that Harlem residents believe gave the most help to "the Negro cause."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, leads among living spokesmen.

Two extremists — Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, both former chairmen of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee — rate 12th and 14th, in a poll of Harlem opinion for The New York Times, listing 15 leaders.

The poll responses show Dr. King rated "very helpful" by 91 per cent of those interviewed, followed by Mr. Wilkins, 45 per cent; the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, 38; Representative Adam Clayton Powell, 37; Jackie Robinson, 35; the late Malcolm X, 31; A. Phillip Randolph, 30; Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, 30; James Farmer, 25; Jesse Gray 24; Mohammed Ali, formerly Cassius Clay, 19; Mr. Carmichael, 18; Bayard Rustin, 16; H. Rap Brown, 15; Roy Innis, 12.

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# Admits He Set Fire in Riot; Imprisoned

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Dametrius Robertson, 30, of 4510 Adams st., was sentenced yesterday to serve three to seven years in the state penitentiary for arson in the west side rioting that came in the wake of the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

He was carrying an oil can partially filled with gasoline. He told police that his brother-in-law had been beaten by white men two years earlier and that because of the King slaying he thought it was a "good time to get even with the white man."

Judge James J. Mejda of Criminal court imposed the sentence after Robertson pleaded guilty to arson, attempted arson, and possession of explosives.

Fillmore police seized Robertson on April 5 after they saw him fleeing from a flaming two-flat building at 3058 Madison st.

When arrested, Robertson

Robertson has a record of two previous convictions. In 1961 he was placed on one year probation for petty larceny. In November, 1964, he was sentenced to serve one to three years in the penitentiary for burglary.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

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15

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 7-17-68  
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL  
Author:  
Editor: W.D. MAXWELL  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

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# The RFK-Pearson Dispute

## Over Dr. King

By CARL GREENBERG

LOS ANGELES—Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination is embroiled in charges by columnist Drew Pearson that Kennedy had ordered the late Dr. Martin Luther King's telephone tapped.

Pearson's accusation was not answered directly by Kennedy upon his arrival here this week. But his press secretary, Frank Mankiewicz, issued a statement saying that Kennedy had authorized wiretaps by the FBI only in certain "national security" cases.

Mankiewicz also asserted that Pearson was being "used" by J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, in what he claimed was Hoover's "campaign" against Dr. King.

In Washington, Pearson, a supporter of Vice President Humphrey's candidacy for the Democratic nomination, said he had what he described as a memo bearing Kennedy's signature, but did not say that it specifically authorized tapping Dr. King's telephone.

"I will produce convincing evidence in due time," said Pearson. A member of Hoover's staff said in Washington that Hoover would have no comment to make on Mankiewicz' statement.

This is the sequence of events: Pearson said Kennedy had "ordered a wiretap put on the phone of Dr. Martin Luther King."

He also wrote that Kennedy, as Attorney General, first ordered Dr. King "bugged" on July 16, 1963. "Bugging" is the term used in referring to installation of electronic listening devices. Pearson said the reason for the alleged order was that King "was in touch with various Communists and was being influenced by them."

No taps were placed then on Dr. King's telephone, according to Pearson, but in October of 1963, "Kennedy signed an order for a tap on King's wires and thereafter King's phone conversations were monitored."

Pearson also wrote that the FBI submitted regular reports on Dr. King's activities until he was slain, and said one report, dated Feb. 20 of this year, quoted a "confidential informant" in connection with Dr. King's asserted acquaintanceship with a person in Los Angeles.

Pearson also cited what he said was an FBI memo dated July 7, 1961, dealing with the FBI's "eavesdropping policy."

This memo, which Pearson said was signed by Courtney Evans, former assistant FBI director, was quoted as stating that—in the use of listening devices in connection with organized crime—"the strong objections to the utilization of telephone taps as contrasted to microphone surveillances was stressed."

The memo, according to Pearson, also said, "The Attorney General [then Kennedy] noted that he had approved several technical surveillances in connection with security-type investigations since he took office."

Upon Kennedy's arrival here from Portland, Mankiewicz reported that Kennedy would not personally discuss the matter. Mankiewicz, a permanent member of Kennedy's Senatorial staff, then dictated this statement:

"Sen. Kennedy has continuously stated that at no time while he was Attorney General did he approve or authorize any electronic surveillance ["bugging"] of anyone.

"Pursuant to policies in effect since President Roosevelt's executive order of 1940, he did, as Attorney General, approve a limited number of wiretaps in national security cases, but on each occasion only at the written request of the FBI."

"Since leaving the Justice Department, Sen. Kennedy has not discussed any particular individual case and he will not do so now."

"It is unfortunate that Drew Felt Pearson is permitting himself to be used in J. Edgar Hoover's continuing campaign against Martin Luther King—now apparently against the memory of Martin Luther King."

"The information that Pearson discusses from the alleged surveillance was developed, according to him, in 1963, two Attorneys General and one President later and well after President Johnson's order forbidding such practices."

An FBI spokesman said there would be "no comment" from Hoover.

After saying he would produce "convincing evidence," Pearson dictated this reply from Washington to Mankiewicz' statement:

"First, regarding electronic surveillance. I have a memo dated Aug. 17, 1961, with Robert F. Kennedy's signature on it, in which he authorizes microphone surveillances."

"Second, the column which I prepared quotes extensively from another memo dated July 7, 1961, in which he [Kennedy] says he would like to see a list of the technical surveillances."

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- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
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that he would like this brought over to him personally and that he had approved several technical surveillances.

"In connection with the charge that I am continuing J. Edgar Hoover's campaign against Martin Luther King, the fact is that I have probably been the No. 1 newspaper critic of J. Edgar Hoover.


"At no time have I talked to Hoover about King and I have been a personal friend of Dr. King over a period of several years.

"He has been entertained in my house and came to Washington last July as my guest to participate in a panel with Roy Wilkins, president of the NAACP, and Dick Gregory in a discussion of Negro big city problems over which I presided."

Mankiewicz, before issuing the statement for Kennedy, had said that he believed the document Pearson claimed bore Kennedy's signature was a document requiring the then Attorney General's counter-signature on a request to the telephone company in New York City to lease lines during an FBI investigation of organized racketeering. Mankiewicz said he had seen a copy of this document.

- DeLoach ✓
- Mohr ✓
- Bishop ✓
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*A. J. Moore*  
*for*

Martin Luther King

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  - The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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Wheaton*

# ADVERTISER

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**April 10, 1968**

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# I Cover Suburbia

by Leo "Tar" Paulin

**SEEDS OF VIOLENCE** — The murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a senseless, tragic act. We have deep compassion for his family and for all who were close to him.

There are no conceivable circumstances under which murder can be condoned. But the slaying of Dr. King was unexpected. While he professed to be dedicated to non-violence, violence followed almost all of his widely heralded demonstrations.

His slaying was a lawless act. But Dr. King conducted his civil rights campaign on a premise of lawlessness. He defied court injunctions, he violated local ordinances, he disrupted the orderly functioning of city governments throughout the land.

He projected and promulgated the shocking concept that a law was morally wrong an individual had the right to break that law.

Felix Frankfurter, who during his tenure of the Supreme Court bench was considered one of the most liberal jurists, said: "If one man can be allowed to determine for himself what law every man can. That means first chaos, then tyranny."

Chaos, if not tyranny, has indeed gripped the country.

Dr. King was a man of great strength and persuasiveness but his contribution to the civil rights movement is open question. The sacking and looting of major cities throughout the country certainly does not contribute to an easing of racial tensions.

His close affinity with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (identified by both House and Senate Committees as a major Communist organ in the South) is at best incongruous with Americanism.

Following his untimely and violent death, President Johnson ordered all flags to be flown at half mast and proclaimed Sunday, April 7, as a day of national mourning for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. These acts by the President elevated Dr. King to the status of a heroic martyr. Does it follow then that government subscribes to the lawlessness that punctuated many of the Reverend's actions?

I mourn the death of Martin Luther King. I mourn the death of any fellowman. Had he been a true man of God, he preached to his people, in the eloquent words of the Bible, that there is a right and wrong in society and that no matter how repugnant, must be obeyed. He should have been buried with deep respect.

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# SHOW TO HONOR KING

An all-star package of entertainers will participate in a tribute to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. at the Sylvan Theater on the grounds of the Washington Monument Sunday in a program designed for vacationing District youngsters.

The show, from 2 to 7 p.m., is titled "An Offering of Love and Peace."

It will feature local as well as national performers, including Nancy Wilson, Ray Charles, Chris Connor, Roberta Flack, the Buck Clayton and Marshall Brown Quintet, the Sidewinders, the Eddie Henderson Quintet, Chad Mitchell, the Fabulous Embraceables, and other jazz, gospel, blues, rock 'n' roll, and folk performers.

The show was put together rather hurriedly by Tony Taylor, owner of the Bohemian Caverns nightclub. "It's a real opportunity for the people and the entertainers to come together in a tribute to Dr. King," Taylor said.

"All of the entertainers are donating their time. Some couldn't make it and sent their regrets. For example, Bill Cosby was invited but wired saying he will be doing the same thing in Detroit Sunday."

The show will climax the Easter week program, mainly for youths of Mayor Walter E. Washington's new youth unit. The unit has sponsored a week of activities ranging from movies and picnics to the James Brown television show.

Others scheduled to appear are the Ray Bryant trio, the Colemanceers Gospel Singers, the vaudeville team of Hines, Hines and Dad, the Dave Aikins trio, the New Breed avant garde quartet, and the New World Singers.

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# Letters to the Editor of The Times 44 M

## Dr. King's Path

To the Editor:

Amid the shock that benumbed us all there were a few voices that refused to share in the grief at the death of Martin Luther King. A sheriff from the South, a Senator in Washington and a foreign voice from South Africa were quick to point out that he had it coming. Or, as they put it, "He preached non-violence, but wherever he went he aroused violence."

In a perverted way they are pointing at a truth that is all too easily overlooked by the masses who merely express shock and amazement at what happened.

Dr. King himself knew very well that he "had it coming." It was no surprise to him. The sooner we understand that, the better off we are, for the real danger is that the whole episode will be buried in a cloak of sentimentality, with cries of pity for so innocent a man.

Dr. King was neither innocent nor is he to be pitied. He deliberately became allied to the very tough and clear-eyed power of love, the kind that reaches to the dark hiding places of prejudice, fear and hatred, calling them into broad daylight to be judged and shown for what they are, the forces of death and destruction.

It is in truth the only way to clean up the whole hypocritical mess. Prejudice never will be overcome unless it is given a chance to test its strength and permitted to see its ugly face.

The fact that "wherever Dr. King went he aroused violence" only can mean one thing: the fact that there was lots of it wherever he went.

GERARD VAN DYK  
 Accord, N. Y., April 11, 1968  
 The writer is minister of the Rochester Reformed Church.

65 MAY 2 1968

## Passage of Rights Bill

To the Editor:

The New York Times calls the passage of the civil rights bill a "Triumph for Civil Rights..." [Editorial April 11.] The principle of open housing is now established. The black man in America can now see visible evidence of progress.

Time was when he was constitutionally considered as being three-fifths of a man. Now the figure has risen to 80 per cent. May I ask the nonblack reader what he would do or how he would feel if another benevolent race imposed this status on him?

How I feel as a black man is not fit to print. But in the spirit of such steady progress as we are experiencing, may I say what you so earnestly want to hear: Thank you, democratic white masters, for your kind efforts on our behalf. We will overcome.

OLIVER LEERS  
 Brooklyn, April 11, 1968

## Basis of Welfare

To the Editor:

In his letter on "Property Rights vs. Individual's Welfare" (April 15), Prof. Bernard H. Ross of American University commended the Washington, D. C., Metropolitan Police for exercising "a great deal of re-

straint" in their efforts to end the recent riots and arson that struck this city in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination.

While it is undoubtedly true that greater force could have been brought to bear, with the resultant loss of more lives and less merchandise and personal property, I feel that Professor Ross may be guilty of a serious bit of nonreasoning when he asserts that if the concept of private property were more frequently subordinated to the welfare of the individual "it might have a positive effect on American political, social and economic life."

The obvious lacuna in this line of reasoning is, in my opinion: how does anyone go about separating private property from the welfare of the individual? Without private property, there can be no individual welfare, as any slave throughout the world's long history could tell us.  
 N. S. M.  
 Kensington, Md., April 15, 1968

*Handwritten signatures and notes:*  
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 Martin Luther King

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times 44 M \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
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MADDOX 2411 AJ  
 ATLANTA (UPI)--SEN. LESTER MADDOX SAID THURSDAY NIGHT HE FELT SYMPATHY ON LEARNING OF THE ASSASSINATION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. --A SILENTLY WILLING TROOP WAS BORN FEELING OF CHRISTIAN LOVE AND NOT FEEL GUILTY AT HAVING BEEN A HYPOCRITE."

"I FELT NO NEED TO DO VENGEANCE," MADDOX TOLD A TEA GROUP, "FOR I HAD DONE DR. KING AND HIS FOLLOWERS NO WRONG."

THE GOVERNOR CHARGED THAT MANY OF THE PERSONS WHO MARCHED IN KING'S FUNERAL MARCH WERE ONLY TO PROMOTE THEIR OWN POLITICAL CAREERS. MADDOX HAS EARLIER BEEN CRITICIZED BECAUSE HE DID NOT ATTEND FUNERAL SERVICES, SAYING HIS TIES WERE NOT AWAY.

"I DID NOT WEEP AT THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, NOR DID I WEEP FOR THOSE WHO DIED IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. TEARS ARE NOT SWEET FOR THE DEAD, BUT FOR THE LIVING," MADDOX SAID.

"I WAS SYMPATHETIC, BUT MY SYMPATHY CAME FROM A DEEP FEELING OF CHRISTIAN LOVE, AND NOT FROM GUILT AT HAVING BEEN A HYPOCRITE."

"MY HEART WENT OUT TO DR. KING AND HIS FOUR CHILDREN. I SYMPATHIZED WITH THOSE PEOPLE WHO LOOKED TO DR. KING FOR LEADERSHIP. MY HEART WAS IN ANY TOWN WHERE I THOUGHT OF THE MARCH AND CHILDREN OF THE FIRE, THE POLICE AND THE INNOCENT MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIED, AND WILL DIE IN THE FUTURE, BECAUSE LAWLESSNESS HAS BEEN SANCTIONED AND FINANCED BY LEADERS IN GOVERNMENT, IN INDUSTRY AND IN THE CHURCH," MADDOX ADDED.

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*W. Campbell*  
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WFI-64

PRINCETON, N. J. -- FUTURE NEGRO VETERANS WILL BE ABLE TO ATTEND GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL UNDER FELLOWSHIPS NAMED FOR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, THE ROBERT WILSON NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP FOUNDATION ANNOUNCED TODAY.

THE FELLOWSHIPS WILL BE FINANCED IN PART BY \$700,000 FROM THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, WHICH MADE THE GRANT APRIL 4 ONLY HOURS BEFORE DR. KING WAS ASSASSINATED.

KING'S WIDOW, MRS. CORETTA KING, IS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE PROGRAM AND SAID ANNUAL POP USE OF HER HUSBAND'S NAME, ACCORDING TO DR. BENJAMIN SAYS, IS SILENT EVENTS AT MOREHOUSE COLLEGE. WHO CONTACTED THE OWNERSHIP OF THE FOUNDATION. KING WAS A MOREHOUSE GRADUATE.

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FOR MR. TOLSON  
WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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*M. Swan*  
*G. Mohr*

UPI-153

(KING)

WASHINGTON--A NEGRO HOUSE MEMBER TODAY INTRODUCED A BILL TO REQUIRE THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT TO ISSUE A SPECIAL COMMEMORATIVE STAMP HONORING THE LATE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING. "THE TIME TO HONOR MARTIN LUTHER KING IS NOW," REP. ROBERT C. NIX, D-PA., SAID. NIX SAID HE INTRODUCED THE SAME BILL LAST MAY BUT NO ACTION WAS TAKEN.

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*6/2/68*

# King Fellowships to Assist Negro GIs

PRINCETON, N.J., April 15 (UPI)—Returning Negro veterans will be able to attend graduate or professional school under fellowships named for Dr. Martin Luther King, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation announced today. The fellowships will be financed in part by \$200,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, which made the grant announcement April 4 only hours before Dr. King was assassinated.

*D. G. [unclear]*

- The Washington Post  *A-10*
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
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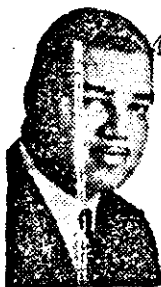
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Rededication

Whitney M. Young Jr.



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. was a fighter for equality and racial justice.

We will all cherish our memories of this great man. I recall marching with him in Selma and in Mississippi, and I worked closely with him for years. Most of us will always keep the memory of his "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 March on Washington.

He had a dream of a democratic society in which white people and Negroes worked together for peace and justice. He had a dream of hope and beauty, and he had a vision of what we could all become when we free ourselves from hate.

But our society is too sick to share that dream, and he was brutally struck down by an assassin.

HE preached non-violence. It was his creed, and he was its symbol. It would be a tragic betrayal to turn our backs on this philosophy today. His death brought anger and disgust to the hearts of all men of good will, but these emotions must be repressed and channeled into other avenues. If we do otherwise, he will have died in vain.

Non-violence gave his life its meaning, and we've got to resist those among us who wish to get down to the level of his murderer. He lived by words and actions of peace, and we can't betray his memory by worshiping the gods of vengeance and hatred.

We must, instead, rededicate ourselves to the ideals for which he fought. We who believe with him in non-violence have been dealt a mortal blow, but we've got to redouble our efforts to prove that it can work.

The day after his assassination I saw the hurt and the shock on the faces of people in the streets. Whites and Negroes were united that day in pain and in a sense of personal loss. There were others too — those who used his death to loot and to vent their anger in the streets. Their actions were committed in his name, but were acts against his memory.

BUT he must not have died in vain. We — Negroes and whites — must create a living memorial to his memory. We have to stamp out the racism that took his life.

I fear for this nation. It is divided; it is racist; it lives by the gun and the bullet. A Civil Rights Bill is held up in Congress. A Riot Commission Report pointing to white racism and the terrible economic and social deprivations faced by Negroes as being the causes of our domestic crisis is ignored. Nothing has happened to change things. Dr. King will not have died in vain if his tragic death moves Americans from seeing race relations as a spectator sport to becoming involved in the fight for justice. They've got to fight for the things Dr. King fought for — open housing, anti-poverty measures, a national rededication and reconstruction, and, as his death so tragically demonstrated the need, Federal protection for civil rights workers.

- DeLoach
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- The Washington Post
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I fear for this nation. It is divided; it is racist; it lives by the gun and the bullet. The Civil Rights bill was too long delayed in Congress. A Riot Commission Report pointing to white racism and the terrible economic and social deprivations faced by Negroes as being the causes of our domestic crisis is ignored. Nothing has happened to change things. Dr. King will not have died in vain if his tragic death moves Americans from seeing race relations as a spectator sport to becoming involved in the fight for justice. They've got to fight for the things Dr. King fought for — open housing, anti-poverty measures, a national rededication and reconstruction, and, as his death so tragically demonstrated the need, Federal protection for civil rights workers.

*J. C. Moore*  
*D. A. [unclear]*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
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UPI-108

(DEMONSTRATION - 10)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE PUBLIC BROADCASTING LABORATORY (PBL) HAVE AGREED TO RECORD THE STEP-BY-STEP PLANNING OF HIS "MASSIVE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE" CAMPAIGN FOR NORTHERN CITIES.

THE RESULTING DOCUMENTARY WILL BE OFFERED BY PBL THROUGH THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION (NET) NETWORK FOR BROADCAST EITHER ON THE DAY OR THE DAY AFTER THE CAMPAIGN IS LAUNCHED THIS SPRING IN WASHINGTON.

PBL AGREES NOT TO RELEASE ANYTHING IT LEARNS OF DR. KING'S STRATEGY UNTIL THE BROADCAST.

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 167 JAN 9 1968

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FOR MR. TOLSON

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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